A DESIRE FOR ACTIVE CITIZENS:

AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS OF

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR

YOUNG MIGRANTS IN

NEW ZEALAND

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines whether the introduction of citizenship education in New Zealand would increase the levels of active citizenship of young migrant New Zealanders, using voter turnout as a measure. This research draws attention to an overlooked part of New Zealand political science research by studying young migrant New Zealanders. The theories and topics covered in this research include the notion of citizenship, education, political participation, social capital and multiculturalism. Both surveys and interviews are used to gauge young New Zealanders' political attitudes and opinions, and their levels of political knowledge, interest, sophistication and socialisation are examined.

The findings of this research suggest that citizenship education would not only be beneficial to young migrant New Zealanders but that citizenship education would benefit all young New Zealanders. It is argued that an increase in all young New Zealanders' levels of political knowledge and interest are likely to have a positive effect on voter turnout levels. It is also argued that the current education curriculum does not explicitly encourage such learning. Using these findings in conjunction with theory, it is recommended that citizenship education is implemented into the New Zealand secondary school curriculum to ensure that New Zealand's democracy is in good health for the current and future generations.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

"The health and stability of a modern democracy depends on the qualities and attitudes of its citizens"
- Will Kymlicka

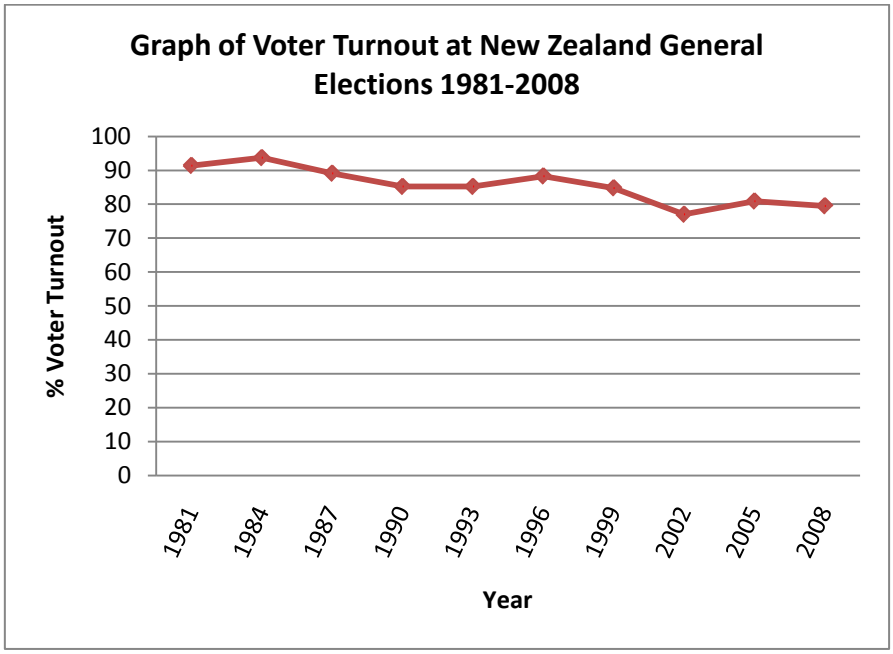
The success of any democracy is dependent on the participation of its citizens. This participation not only provides checks and balances for elected representatives but provides a mechanism for the advancement of ideas and the goal of consensus of citizens that is open to all. Participation of citizens engenders equality, legitimacy, individual freedoms and rights.

Although, as discussed later, there are many forms of citizen participation, the most common, easily recognised and politically salient is the exercising of the citizen's right to vote.

VOTER TURNOUT DECLINE IN NEW ZEALAND

For many years New Zealand has enjoyed high levels of voter turnout at general elections and, because of this, has been able to pride itself on having a healthy democracy. However, a trend showing that New Zealand's voter turnout is declining is weakening the ability to substantiate such a claim. Questions have arisen over whether New Zealand can still pride itself on being a healthy democracy, especially when statistics show that active political participation levels are down. While it is recognised that voter turnout is not the only form of political participation, voting is an important part of New Zealand's democratic process and a declining voter turnout means that citizens are choosing not to participate in an important and essential element of political participation. As Hayward puts it, "New Zealanders are increasingly opting out of public life" (2006, p.515). Graph 1.1 shows the decline of voter turnout in New Zealand over the last several decades.

Graph 1.1:[1]



Internationally, New Zealand has comparatively good voter turnout figures. For example, in the last ten general elections in New Zealand, the average voter turnout has been slightly over 85 percent,[2] whereas turnout in the United States Presidential elections over a similar period varies mostly between 50 and 60 percent.[3] New Zealand is in the top one-third of all countries for voter turnout (Vowles 2004). However, despite New Zealand's good turnout figures, the general trend is that voter turnout is starting to decrease. Of twenty-two advanced democracies, New Zealand's turnout decline between 1945 and 1999 was the eighth steepest (Vowles 2004). This statistic can be understood more clearly if we take a closer look at the voter turnout figures. For example, the 1984 New Zealand general election attracted a turnout of 93.7 percent, whereas in the recent 2008 election turnout was only 79.5 percent (New Zealand Electoral Turnout Website 2008). In fact, the lowest turnout in the last century was in 2002, where voter turnout was 77 percent (New Zealand Electoral Turnout Website 2008). However, it must be acknowledged that declining voter turnout is not unique to New Zealand. Voter turnout is declining in most post-industrial democracies, including the United States, Britain, Canada and much of Western Europe (Inglehart 1990; Gallagher, Laver and Mair 2001; Wattenburg 2002; Vowles 2004).

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[1] Election results have been taken from www.elections.org.nz/record/resultsdata/elections-dates-turnout.html, accessed 26/11/08.
[2] This figure has been calculated from statistics taken from www.elections.org.nz/record/resultsdata/elections-dates-turnout.html, accessed 26/11/08.
[3] Summarised from data taken from http://elections.gmu.edu/turnout_rates_graph.htm, accessed 05/06/08.

LOW YOUTH AND MIGRANT PARTICIPATION

A closer examination of New Zealand's declining voter turnout results show that youth and migrants are not participating as much as the rest of the population, which may help explain the declining voter turnout figures. According to electoral turnout statistics, young New Zealanders and migrant New Zealanders have lower voter turnout levels compared to the rest of the population. For example, when looking at youth participation, turnout for those aged between 18 and 24 has been at least 15 percent lower than the overall turnout in the 1996, 1999 and 2002 general elections (Catt and Northcote 2006). A briefing by the New Zealand Electoral Commission to the incoming minister after the 2005 general election mentioned that low youth voter turnout is an area of concern (New Zealand Electoral Commission Briefing 2005). Furthermore, election enrolment statistics show that in the most recent 2008 election only 81 percent of those aged between 18 and 24 were enrolled to vote, compared to the national average of 95 percent (New Zealand Enrolment Statistics Online). Vowles argues that a "lower interest in politics and a weaker sense of civic duty" provide possible reasons for explaining voter turnout in recent generations because youth are "less concerned with politics" (2004, p.22).

When studying migrant political participation the findings are similar. It should be noted that there has been little work published on migrant participation in New Zealand. However, using information from the two largest migrant groups in New Zealand, these findings are visible. Firstly, Park explains that Asian participation is lower than that of the general New Zealand population, stating that Asian New Zealanders record the lowest electoral turnout, at an estimate of 60 percent (Park 2006, p44). Park also states that the extremely low level of Asian participation in political activities other than voting was of "particular concern" (2006, p.43). The most recent figures show that people of Asian ethnicity make up 9.2 percent of New Zealand's population (Census Statistics 2006). Similarly, Pacific voters are also more likely to stay at home on election day and have lower levels of political engagement (Vowles, Aimer, Banducci, Karp and Miller 2004; Catt and Northcote 2006; Hayward 2006). According to the census, Pacific Peoples make up 6.5 percent of New Zealand's population (Census Statistics 2006).

This information shows that there is a problem with youth and migrant participation levels, which could be contributing to New Zealand's declining voter turnout. It is likely that voter turnout levels will decrease if these two groups continue to participate less, as New

Zealand's population is increasing both in number and multiculturally. Therefore, if young and migrant New Zealanders continue to not participate, the number of people not participating will also increase proportionally. As Hayward (2006) writes, voter turnout is likely to decrease further as New Zealand's population changes and young New Zealanders, particularly those from ethnic minorities, reach voting age.

OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS OF LOW PARTICIPATION

The problems that declining political participation causes will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 2. However, at this point it is important to mention the implications of declining and low political participation in order to put this research into perspective.

Low participation levels can lead to problems to the welfare of New Zealand's democracy. This is because there is a link between levels of participation and levels of democracy. There are several examples that show the importance of this link. One key example concerns levels of government legitimacy (Almond and Verba 1963; Hague, Harrop and Breslin 1992; Hayward 2006; O'Neill 2006). An institution is legitimate when it corresponds to the dominant doctrine of the period, which is representative democracy (Duverger 1954). Representatives are elected by the people in order to reflect the opinions of the population. A high voter turnout level means that the elected representatives are more likely to mirror the opinions and feelings of the population, as more people voted and got their preference across. Conversely, if there is low voter turnout it is less likely that elected representatives will closely represent the opinions of the whole population. A legislature and executive that closely mirrors the opinions of the population increases the level of legitimacy because they have a clearer mandate from the people to make policy decisions. This leads to higher levels of democracy because it brings the people a step closer to self-government and can provide a check on the power of decision-makers.

Another problem that low participation can lead to is that it builds the bad habit of not voting, which could have long term implications (Franklin 2004; Vowles et al 2004; Catt and Northcote 2006). As stated above, the lower the voter turnout, the less legitimacy the results of elections have.

High levels of voter turnout brings with it healthy levels of democracy by promoting democratic ideals. For example, voting promotes the ideal of equality because "the vote is the one participatory act for which there is mandated equality" (Verba, Schlozman, Brady and Nie 1993). If people are not voting they are not participating in an opportunity that promotes

an essential democratic ideal – equality. Therefore, levels of democracy can suffer in this respect. Similarly, the democratic ideal of all people having their say about how the country is run is reflected in high levels of voter turnout.

These examples show how a nation's democratic well-being can be impinged if low voter turnout is prevalent. Therefore, as a nation, New Zealand should not let the declining voter turnout continue because it could have harmful effects on the democratic health of the country, in a practical and theoretical sense.

IS CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION THE SOLUTION?

To stop the decline of voter turnout, a strategy must be put in place that will promote active participation of New Zealanders. This research examines whether citizenship education is the possible strategy to provide the solution to New Zealand's declining voter turnout.

What is meant by citizenship education is a program for young New Zealanders to learn about politics, good citizenship and democracy through the New Zealand school curriculum. The specific details of citizenship education will become clearer in the following chapters, however, topics covered in this research concerning citizenship education include civic education, democracy education and the promotion of ideals relevant to New Zealand. One author describes citizenship education as the point where "political ideology, education policy and strategies for social inclusion meet" (Potter 2002, p.57).

The interest for studying citizenship education comes from the recommendations of two select committees[4] that concluded citizenship education in New Zealand is needed and a growing amount of international literature on the effects between citizenship education and politics which conclude that education can have a positive effect on citizens (Torney-Purta and Schwille 1986; Crick Report 1998; Torney-Purta et al 2001).

It is important to note that this research is based on the finding that the more education a person has, the more likely they are to participate (Almond and Verba 1963). This research is based largely around the work of Almond and Verba (1963), who write that education is linked with political participation. This will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 2.

The key reason for looking at citizenship education to increase active participation in the form of voter turnout is to gauge whether citizenship education can promote good levels

[4] These are the 'Justice and Electoral Select Committee Report: Inquiry into the 2004 Local Body Elections' (2005) and the 'Report of the Constitutional Arrangements Committee' (2005).

of citizenship in young New Zealanders. In this research it is important to note that the term 'good' citizenship and 'active' citizenship are synonymous. However, it is understood that some authors (Crick 2007) duly point out that there is a difference between the two terms. For the purposes of this research, there is no need to differentiate between these terms.

RESEARCH – A DESIRE FOR ACTIVE CITIZENS

According to the information, youths and migrants are not participating in the political sphere as much as the rest of New Zealand, which could be influencing levels of voter turnout. As discussed, a possible method to increase voter turnout is to introduce citizenship education into the school curriculum to increase the political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation of citizens.

The low political participation and voter turnout levels of young migrants means that New Zealand must focus on this group if general participation and turnout levels are to increase. Therefore, the core aim of this research is to determine whether implementing citizenship education will increase the active political participation of young migrants in New Zealand, increasing voter turnout. In fact, a quote from Hayward (2006) best sums up the basis of this research. She states, "Young people, members of ethnic minorities, and those with lowest levels of education and income are least likely to participate by voting" (Hayward 2006, p.521). The reason for focusing this thesis on young migrants in New Zealand is because, statistically, this group is the least likely to participate and therefore should benefit the most from citizenship education. By focusing this study on such a group, it will help determine the level of effectiveness that citizenship education could have in improving levels of active participation. Furthermore, the subject of migrant political inclusion and participation in New Zealand has been scarcely dealt with in terms of active political participation and if it is found that citizenship education can increase the active political participation of young migrants, it would be beneficial to implement it to ensure healthy levels of democracy in New Zealand. Conversely, if it appears that citizenship education is unlikely to increase the active political participation of young migrants, it would not be necessary to implement it.

As stated, this thesis is testing whether citizenship education can create active participants by increasing political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation. The term political sophistication and socialisation is used as an encompassing term for individuals' attributes, such as levels of political interest, levels of political relevance, levels of political

understanding, levels of political awareness, and so on. Based on people's levels of political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation it can be determined whether citizenship education is likely to have any effect on young migrants and whether it is likely that voter turnout will increase. This will be determined by investigating young New Zealanders' knowledge, attitudes and opinions on politics and civic life.

Little academic work has been done in New Zealand on this topic so this research should be valuable to the literature in this field, as well as being a useful insight for policy makers concerning this issue. Of equal importance, this research looks at young migrant New Zealanders. Very little work has been done on migrants in New Zealand concerning political participation, let alone young migrants. This research aims to fill this gap in the literature.

THESIS OUTLINE

This section introduces the six remaining chapters of this thesis. Chapter 2, 'Theoretical Framework' summarises the key pieces of literature and theory that this thesis is based on. The literature covers the many topics concerned with citizenship education. Firstly, citizenship theory is looked at with a key emphasis on the work of T.H. Marshall (1950) and Kymlicka (2002). Secondly, education theory is discussed with a look at previous education studies and theory. Thirdly, participation theory is examined with an emphasis on the impact of low political participation. Finally, social capital theory is discussed using the ideas of Putnam (2000).

Chapter 3, 'Testing Citizenship Education' describes the four hypotheses that this research uses for testing whether citizenship education is likely to increase active political participation. These hypotheses test the importance and relationships of political knowledge, interest, relevance, social capital and education. Chapter 3 also discusses the current climate for citizenship education in New Zealand, discussing New Zealand's current curriculum, citizenship and multiculturalism, and a case study from Britain.

Chapter 4, 'Research Methodology', discusses the mixed approach used for gaining information and data for this research. 'Mixed' approach is referring to using both quantitative and qualitative methods of gathering information. A description and justification for the use of a survey for my quantitative method of research is discussed. Similarly, the qualitative research is discussed and justified concerning the use of interviews. Research issues, such as sampling, are discussed to ensure the legitimacy of my research.

Chapter 5, ‘Research Findings and Analysis’, is an in-depth look at the findings of the four hypotheses using the information and data collected specifically for this research. Making use of both the quantitative and qualitative data, using statistics and quotes, the hypotheses are analysed individually and further findings are also discussed.

In Chapter 6, ‘Recommendations and Conclusion’, the analysis of the findings are used to create recommendations concerning whether implementing citizenship education into the school curriculum would be likely to increase the active participation of young migrant New Zealanders. There is also a discussion about the conclusions of my research concerning areas of limitations of the study, further research in the topic and my final comments on the topic of citizenship education in New Zealand.

CHAPTER 2 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this research is to determine whether implementing citizenship education will increase the active participation of young migrants in New Zealand. Due to the scope of this research, there are a number of concepts that must be considered to give a well-rounded theoretical basis to the issue of citizenship education.

These concepts encompass many different parts of political science theory, all of which are just as relevant as the next. Firstly, citizenship theory will be discussed covering important topics such as what 'citizenship' means in the context of this research, what virtues a citizen has, and how to deal with the issue of migrant citizenship rights. Once these issues are discussed it can be established what is really meant by citizenship education. Secondly, theory discussing citizenship education will be examined to understand the important aspects of developing citizenship education as well as pointing out the role education can play in increasing active participation. Discussions, such as the impact knowledge has on levels of interest and how education can increase people's political sophistication and socialisation, will set the basis for much of the practical aspect of my research. Next, literature concerning the problem that low political participation levels can have will be discussed, much of which concerns democratic theory. Here the literature will point out the need for stronger democracy and will sharpen the relevance of my research concerning the desire for active participation. Finally, but by no means least, the theory of social capital will be examined. Levels of young migrants' social capital will be analysed in my research to determine whether social capital influences active political participation. In this chapter, the key aspects of social capital theory are discussed to establish what social capital is and its relevance to New Zealand political participation.

CITIZENSHIP THEORY

It is generally accepted that the concept of citizenship is made up of several elements, which include the "notion of participation in public life, the idea that a citizen is one who both governs and is governed, a sense of identity, an acceptance of societal values, and rights and responsibilities" (Lawson and Scott 2002, p.1).

In *'Citizenship and Social Class'* (1950), T.H. Marshall writes on the assumption that there is "a kind of basic human equality associated with the concept of full membership of a community – or of 'citizenship'" (1950, p.8). Marshall divides citizenship into three elements

– civil, political and social. Firstly, he defines that civil rights are composed of the rights that are necessary for individual freedom, such as liberty, freedom of speech, and justice. Secondly, political rights refer to the right to participate in the exercise of political power. Finally, social rights include economic welfare and security and the right to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards of the prevailing society, which Marshall links with education and social service institutions (Marshall 1950). The significance of Marshall's division of citizenship rights is that it shows the rights that are encompassed in having full citizenship and if these rights are upheld, citizenship will produce equality. Marshall states that it is a full member of society who has citizenship status bestowed on them (1950, p.28).

More specifically, ideal citizenship for this study refers to a person's moral quality as exemplified by their behaviour: thus a good citizen is 'civic-minded', that is, one that acts responsibly, obeys the law, makes reasonable social and political demands, and is aware of the interests of society at large (Safran 1997, p.313). It is this idea of citizenship that will be reinforced in this research.

In Kymlicka's work '*Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship'* (2002) the importance of civic virtues and participation in relation to citizenship is discussed. He defines several virtues that distinguish 'citizens' in a democracy from 'subjects' in an authoritarian regime. Two of these are the ability and willingness to question political authority and to engage in public discourse about matters of public policy (Kymlicka 2002). He states that the need to question authority rises from the fact that representatives are elected to govern in peoples' names and therefore citizens have the responsibility to monitor these representatives. Furthermore, the willingness for discourse promotes free discussion and also teaches people how to listen to different views (Kymlicka 2002). A third virtue that Kymlicka emphasises is civility. By this he means that people are able to live in a civil society with all people, where everyone is accepting of all types of people and their opinions (Kymlicka 2002). Kymlicka sees these certain virtues as an important aspect in upholding high levels of citizenship. He argues that it is not necessary for all people to have the previously mentioned virtues for democracy to function, however the more people who do, the better (Kymlicka 2002).

Finally, Kymlicka differentiates between two approaches for increasing civic knowledge and responsibility. The first approach he describes is an Aristotlean style approach, based on the ancient Greek philosophy, where we should persuade people that active citizenship is intrinsically rewarding, not burdensome. He states, "The Athenians were

free men because they were self-governing collectively, although they lacked personal independence and civil liberties, and were expected to sacrifice their pleasures for the sake of the polis" (Kymlicka 2002, p.295). The face-to-face politics of ancient Athens is admirable because in this situation people would find politics more rewarding (Lardy 1997; Kymlicka 2002; Reid 2005). However, Kymlicka (2002) argues that political life has become too large in scale, too manipulated by money, too stage-managed by the media to be rewarding for most citizens. The second approach Kymlicka describes (and prefers) is based around people seeing active citizenship as burdensome, so we should accept this burden to maintain a functioning democracy (Kymlicka 2002). He prefers this approach because it is more practical, as most people see political participation as an occasional and often burdensome activity needed to ensure that government respects and supports their freedom to pursue personal occupations and attachments, such as family, religion and work (Kymlicka 2002).

Using Kymlicka's thoughts, it can be established that upholding certain civic virtues are an important way to ensure the growth and health of people's citizenship levels. If the ideas of Marshall and Kymlicka are used together, the necessary aspects of what is meant by teaching citizenship are established. That is, if citizenship education is used as a way to motivate the public to be active citizens, the correct aspects must be taught. If this is understood, people should ultimately act in a way that will strengthen the greater good of the community.

However, this research is not solely focussed on the citizenship of any citizen in a state, but concerns the citizenship levels of young migrants. The topic of citizenship and immigrants is dealt with in a variety of ways by both scholars and state policy makers. This is because the best way to deal with the issue of migrant citizenship is widely debated. As Safran (1997) writes, the difference between citizens and non-citizens has been obscured because immigrants are full-fledged members of civil society by virtue of their socio-economic functions, for example paying tax and obeying the law. Yet, in political equality and recognition, many migrants are not full-fledged members of the state. Tomasi (1985) states that this is because there is often a general problem that political institutions seem unable to adapt to immigration well. He argues this occurs because there is often a gap between economic modernisation and political modernisation. Often when immigrants arrive in a new state they have an economic effect on that state, mainly due to effect of new workers and business. Historically, the state deals with this economic effect first and the political effect of immigrants comes later.

Migrants participate directly in politics through a number of distinctive channels which are shaped by their legal status. Technically speaking, citizenship has a legal aspect, which is used to grant full membership of a polity to individuals who comply with the rules that come with the status of being a citizen (Lardy 1997). Furthermore, citizenship in democratic states brings with it certain rights, such as the right to vote, and obligations, such as jury service. Therefore, as Safran (1997) argues, democratic development implies the extension of the right to vote to the sectors of the population that do not possess that right, which often includes immigrants. Historically, voting and other forms of political participation have mostly been reserved for citizens. However, New Zealand is an exception to this because in 1975 permanent residents gained the ability to vote, meaning voting at election time was not just for New Zealand citizens. This is important because being able to vote represents "a valuable and meaningful outlet for migration participation and representation" (Tomasi 1985, p.405).

True political inclusion for migrants can only occur with the acceptance of migrants within a state or, as Kymlicka would argue, high levels of civility. For this to occur, it must be understood that there is a difference between a person's nationality and citizenship (Lardy 1997; Safran 1997; Smolicz 1997). For example, Safran points out that for many immigrants, "the acquisition of formal citizenship does not imply the acquisition of the host country's 'nationality'" – to the extent that the latter is defined in terms of a sharing of that country's historical consciousness and myths (1997, p.328). This being the case, the importance of acceptance of different nationalities within a state can help build bridges in society (Smolicz 1997). Therefore, for a successful multicultural state, both cultural and political recognition and acceptance is needed. The important aspect of incorporating migrants into a state politically and socially is to accept cultural diversity and decrease the "fear of otherness", that is, fearing people who are different from ourselves (Smolicz 1997, p.182). The unity of a state, as manifested by its common citizenship and its institutional structures, should be complemented by the recognition, toleration and acceptance of cultural diversity at a national level (Smolicz 1997).

EDUCATION THEORY

"The educated classes possess the keys to political participation and involvement"

- Almond and Verba

As mentioned in the introduction, the finding that the more education a person has, the more likely they are to participate, is the foundation for this research. This is based predominantly on the work of Almond and Verba (1963) who conclude that education is linked to people's political thoughts. They find several effects that education has politically on citizens. These findings state that the more educated individual is: more aware of government; is more likely to follow politics; has more political information; is more likely to engage in political discussion; is more likely to consider himself capable of influencing government; and is more likely to be an active member of an organisation (Almond and Verba 1963, p.380-381). This research aims to expand on the findings of Almond and Verba (1963) by looking more closely at citizenship education and whether it can have the effects of increasing participation, political awareness and knowledge, as Almond and Verba suggest it can.

Teaching citizenship education on a national scale is not a new idea. Many countries currently have included citizenship education into their national school curriculum. For example, Canada, Australia, Scotland and most of the European Union have curriculums that include courses of citizenship. In 2002, England and Wales made citizenship education compulsory. The rationale for introducing citizenship education into these countries was the benefits for pupils, who would be empowered to participate effectively in society, and the benefits for society, due to an increased number of active and politically literate citizens (Justice and Electoral Select Committee Report: Inquiry into the 2004 Local Body Elections; 2005, p.34). New Zealand, however, has not yet introduced an explicit citizenship aspect into its curriculum. This is noteworthy because those countries that have citizenship education share many similar characteristics with New Zealand, such as the promotion of liberal Western ideals, several are part of the Commonwealth, and most are dealing with incorporating large new immigrant populations.

In New Zealand, there is no statutory requirement for citizenship education despite two select committees recommending the inclusion of citizenship education in New Zealand schools in 2005. In the report of the inquiry into the 2004 local body elections, the Justice and Electoral Select Committee recommended to the Government that "the Ministry of Education should be encouraged to strengthen the place of citizenship education in the curriculum and

make more teaching resources available for this purpose" (Inquiry into the 2004 Local Body Elections: Justice and Electoral Select Committee Report; 2005). Likewise, the Report of the Constitutional Arrangements Committee advocated that, "Increased effort should be made to improve civics and citizenship education in schools to provide young people with the knowledge needed to become responsible and engaged citizens" (Report of the Constitutional Arrangements Committee; 2005). These statements have been acknowledged with changes to the New Zealand curriculum in late 2007, where a focus on student participation and an underlying awareness of democratic ideals is pushed, but citizenship education was not explicitly included. This will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Three. However, before discussing the role education could play for young migrants, it is important to distinguish between civic and citizenship education.

The United States has civic education in the national school curriculum, which encompasses many aspects from learning how bills are passed to aspects of patriotism, such as learning the national anthem. However, this type of education has not worked in increasing participation in politics, especially in the form of voting as a low voter turnout exists (Putnam 2000; Catt 2006). The United States' situation provides a good example that civic or even citizenship education can be taught in an ineffective manner, therefore defeating the purpose of such education, which is to increase political awareness and participation. As civic education alone does not increase participation at election time, other aspects of promoting participation and active citizenship in the syllabus should be investigated. This is the distinction between civic education and citizenship education. If improved education in school is the strategy, then what should be taught is "not just 'how a bill becomes a law' but 'how can I participate effectively in the public life of my community'" (Putnam 2000, p.405). It is the stressing of values and attitudes that surpass simple civic education that makes the real difference (Torney-Purta and Schwille 1986). Traue (2006) argues the importance of combining civic and citizenship education. He states that civic education provides people with the practical information in which democratic ideals are embedded, whereas citizenship education promotes the ideal of self-government (Traue 2006). Moreover, he argues that the reason for combining the two approaches is because in civic education there is an information deficit that can be filled by clear thinking and more resources, whereas in citizenship education there is an experience deficit that can be filled only by practicing citizenship (Traue 2006). Torney-Purta and Schwille (1986, p.34) argue that countries that stress values and attitudes rather than civics and government ended up with better values and attitudes in their

citizens, stating that the approach of stressing "rote and ritual" of civic facts appear counterproductive. Dudley and Gitelson (2003) also stress the importance of people understanding the purpose of government and democracy. They state, "Those who fail to understand the significance of democratic norms often fail to believe in them" (Dudley and Gitelson 2003, p.264). Therefore, according to the theory, a combination of the two approaches (civic and citizenship) would provide an effective way to increase knowledge, political sophistication and socialisation.

In '*Civic Values Learned in School: Policy and Practice in Industrialised Nations'* (1986), Torney-Purta and Schwille discuss the ideas around implementing such an education curriculum. They state that no Western industrialised country has had a uniformly high level of success in transmitting civic values (Torney-Purta and Schwille 1986). They argue that this may be because countries are trying to adapt the same methods that other countries have tried for themselves. One of the main points of the article recognises that each country's civic practice is determined by its unique cultural, historical and political traditions (Torney-Purta and Schwille 1986). Therefore, each country will differ in the values that characterise their culture and educational goals, thus reaffirming the need to understand the concept of citizenship. As Cecchini states, "There is not one recipe approach to citizenship and citizenship learning" (2003, p.5). In effect, Torney-Purta and Schwille (1986) are stating that it is no use trying to adopt another country's citizenship education methods because they will not be relevant. Furthermore, the learning of values is strongly influenced by many factors that are outside the control of educators, such as the social climate, national culture and subcultures, economic structures and unique historical events (Torney-Purta and Schwille 1986). For example, the Treaty of Waitangi is unique to New Zealand, which means it is up to New Zealand to decide the relevance of that document in terms of citizenship and education. Therefore, overarching, non-contradictory and relevant aspects must be taught to ensure effectiveness (Torney-Purta and Schwille 1986; Smolicz 1997; Dudley and Gitelson 2003).

Recently, there have been several studies that have focussed on the practical aspects of civic and citizenship education worldwide (Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2003; Schulz and Sibberns 2004; ICCS 2008). Some of the most comprehensive work has been done by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) under the guidance of Judith Torney-Purta. In '*Citizenship and Education in Twenty-Eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen'* (2001), Torney-Purta et al write on the

assumption that effective civic education programmes must employ a variety of educational approaches. The study finds, firstly, that across all the countries involved in the study, students with the most civic knowledge are most likely to be open to participate in civic activities (Torney-Purta et al 2001). This is a very important finding because it shows that an increase in knowledge leads to a higher interest in participating in civic activities. This is in line with Jennings (1996) who states that political knowledge is related to political interest and activity. The problem remains over the number of youths who have (or rather do not have) the necessary level of civic knowledge to become open to political activity (Putnam 2000; Franklin 2004; Vowles 2006). Interestingly, it was found that students in most countries have an understanding of fundamental democratic principles, values and institutions, but depth of understanding is a problem (Torney-Purta et al 2001). In a third finding from the IEA study it was found that schools that model democratic practices are the most effective in promoting civic knowledge and engagement, showing that there is a link between education and political sophistication and socialisation. These findings provide the foundations for this research's hypotheses.

Two other findings from the IEA study also stand out as being relevant to this research. It was found that young people believe that good citizenship includes the obligation to vote, but aside from voting, students were sceptical about other forms of political engagement (Torney-Purta et al 2001). This finding shows that youths do not seem to view politics outside of the simple passive act of voting. Also, it was found that youth organisations have untapped potential to positively influence the civic preparation of young people (Torney-Purta et al 2001). This finding leaves the door open for citizenship education to be taught outside of the school syllabus.

Putnam (2000) points out that, historically, education was the best predictor of engagement in civic life and the key to both greater tolerance and greater social involvement. Taking into account the findings of the IEA study, Putnam's claim appears to hold true. It should be noted that New Zealand was not included in the twenty-eight countries involved in the IEA study. Therefore, New Zealand's stance on citizenship education, levels of youth knowledge and the extent to which these findings are relevant in New Zealand will be analysed by this research.

THE PROBLEM OF LOW POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Low political participation is problematic to New Zealand society. This is because there is a link between political participation and the nation's democratic well-being. This is described by Barber (1984) who endorses 'strong democracy', which he believes emerges from participatory democracy. He states that, "Strong democracy is a distinctively modern form of participatory democracy. It rests on the idea of a self-governing community of citizens" (Barber 1984, p.117). In a democracy such as New Zealand, participation in elections provides a key opportunity for citizens to take a step closer to self-government. It is noted that it is widely argued that representative democracy is not an ideal democracy due to it not being absolute direct self-government by the people (Bogdanor 1981; Dryzek 1990). However, I believe representative democracy is the most practical way to govern the masses. Barber (1984) believes that in a strong democracy politics should be viewed not as a way of life but as a way of living. He states, "Politics is something done by, not to, citizens" (Barber 1984, p.133).

It is recognised that there is some debate over whether increased political participation is, necessarily, better for a state. For example, Huntington (1968) argues that it is an increase in political participation that has caused inequality in many nations. He claims that levels of political participation have increased but political institutions and organisations have lagged behind, causing inequality. He argues that "the rates of social mobilisation and the expansion of political participation are high; the rates of political organisation and institutionalisation are low" (Huntington 1968, p.5). Such debate over whether increased political participation is better for a state is acknowledged but, for the purposes of this research, the literature arguing in favour of increased political participation leading to stronger democracy is more compelling in the New Zealand context.

The emphasis Barber places on the citizen participation aspect of strong democracy is similar to the Aristotlean style of democracy discussed by Kymlicka. As mentioned earlier, Kymlicka (2002) states that he admires Aristotlean styled democracy but does not prefer the Aristotlean style, believing that we should view participation as burdensome and accept that burden to make democracy function. However, I believe if participation is viewed as burdensome, it will only discourage interest in the political sphere. Interest and knowledge are essential to the promotion of political participation (Bahry and Silver 1990; Jennings 1996; Torney-Purta et al 2001). This is because interested and knowledgeable citizens are more politically aware (Bahry and Silver 1990; Jennings 1996). Alternatively, the "thin

conception of democracy depends so much on a passive and inarticulate citizenry" (Barber 1984, p.132). When citizens are sophisticated and articulate it can also help to act as a check on elected representatives. Sophisticated and articulate citizens can critique politicians and the decisions they make. This is one example of a practical aspect that active participation has, and providing checks on power is an important democratic function.

A dangerous aspect of low political participation is that it can build the bad habit of not voting (Franklin 2004; Vowles 2004). As Catt and Northcote claim, "Declining turnout amongst new voters will probably have a long term impact" (2006, p.2). When the older more likely to vote generation die, they will be replaced by people who are less likely to vote because they did not vote when they were young (Vowles 2004). The problem of low or non-participation can create a society where bad habits provide New Zealand with a weaker democracy for the future because attitudes learnt in the formative years are difficult to change.

New Zealand is a democratic country which prides itself on fundamental democratic ideals, such as fair and legitimate elections. One important aspect that increases legitimacy at election time is the level of voter turnout (Almond and Verba 1964; Hague, Harrop and Breslin 1992; Hayward 2006). As O'Neill (2006) argues, the ideal situation is one in which the elected representatives 'mirror' the population that elected them, in socio-demographic characteristics such as age or ethnicity and in attitudes and values. This is likely to increase the chances that decisions made by representatives will 'mirror' the decisions that would have been made by the population as a whole. On the other hand, if only a portion of the population is deciding on who the representatives are, then those representatives are likely to 'mirror' only those who participated in their selection. Therefore, low turnout by particular groups in society decreases the probability that elected representatives will 'mirror' the interests of the group as a whole (O'Neill 2006). Similarly, high turnout ensures a buffer against political extremism, which helps democratic stability (Patterson 2002). In summary, high voter turnout at election time leads to a more accurate make-up of parliament and therefore makes the government more legitimate by having an accurate mandate from the people.

Participation through voting not only provides higher legitimacy but also enforces the democratic ideal of equality. In New Zealand, all permanent residents and citizens over the age of eighteen are able to vote. For that reason, voting provides a truly equal opportunity for participation because all eligible voters, despite race, education and so forth, have one

individual vote each. Therefore, people who do not vote are withdrawing from an opportunity to participate in a fundamental part of New Zealand's democratic process – a process that provides the New Zealand Government with legitimacy and the New Zealand public with equality.

SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

Social capital theory has become a fashionable topic for political theorists over the last decade. Much of the popularity has stemmed from Robert Putnam's 1995 article and 2000 book of the same name, '*Bowling Alone'*. Putnam's work argues that social capital in the United States is declining, mainly due to declining participation in social groups, especially community social groups. Putnam defines social capital as referring to the features of social organisation, where networks, norms and social trust facilitate coordination and cooperation in society for mutual benefit (Putnam 1995, p.67). Put simply, the core idea is that "social networks have value" (Putnam 2000, p.19). He uses the example of going bowling to describe his theory. Putnam points out that the number of people participating in bowling is rising, however the number of bowling groups has steadily declined. He explains that this example shows an underlying problem that people are no longer joining groups to participate in activities, preferring to do activities alone, such as bowling (hence the title of his work).

According to Putnam (1995), the decline in activities done in groups has a significance which lies in the social interaction and occasionally civic conversations that occur during these activities. Putnam (1995) states that the types of groups that he believes are good for social networking and increasing social capital are church groups, parent teacher associations, sports groups, professional societies and labour unions. The idea is that once people are involved in these groups they are more likely to discuss politics or community matters with each other and interact with people who may have different opinions. This will increase their social capital, which should eventually lead to an increase in active participation. The work of Barber backs up the importance Putnam places on group activity stating that civic and community activity "educates individuals how to think publicly as citizens" (1984, p.152). Furthermore, Putnam argues that social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them build a more efficient society because people are not distrustful of each other. When levels of trust and reciprocity are high, the social capital of the individual and community increases.

Putnam identifies two types of social capital called “bonding” and “bridging” social capital (2000, p.22). Bonding social capital reinforces exclusive identities and homogenous groups, for example ethnic organisations and women’s reading groups. This type of social capital is good for solidarity and reciprocity because there is strong in-group loyalty, however it can create strong antagonism with groups that are not part of the in-group (Putnam 2000). On the other hand, bridging social capital encompasses people across social cleavages, for example the civil rights movement and youth group services. Bridging social capital is more outward looking, generating broader identities and reciprocity due to the wider group of people involved (Putnam 2000). However, he notes that social capital is not always solely bridging or bonding, but can also be both at the same time.

In *‘Citizen Politics’* (2006), Dalton acknowledges the work of Putnam, but believes his theory has inaccuracies. In fact, Dalton (2006) believes that communal political involvement is increasing in contemporary democracies. He justifies his theory by claiming that Putnam’s theory may be valid concerning traditional forms of social participation, but these forms of participation are no longer as relevant as they once were (Dalton 2006). Norris (2002) writes extensively on the fact that whilst traditional political measuring tools may show lower political participation; participation is occurring in newer and different ways. She calls this the ‘democratic phoenix effect’ (Norris 2002). Nonetheless, Dalton recognises that Putnam’s endeavour to explain the importance of an aware society is significant. Dalton uses the works of Mill, Locke and Tocqueville as grounding for Putnam’s argument, and states that “democracy is workable only when the public has a high degree of political information and sophistication” (2006, p.15).

The point of whether or not an informed public is important to a democracy is much less disputed, as it is widely regarded that the more informed the public are the better a democracy can function legitimately. Dalton states that “the growing complexity and technical nature of contemporary issues requires that citizens have substantial political sophistication to cope with the world of politics” (2006, p.74). Furthermore, he argues that an increasingly sophisticated and cognitively mobilised electorate is not likely to depend on voting and campaign activity as its primary means of involvement in politics. Rather, a more noticeable impact would be seen in areas where activities are citizen-initiated (Dalton 2006). The issue arises over whether the level of public political sophistication and socialisation can increase participation in politics and whether this can be achieved through a growth in social capital by way of promoting group activities, as Putnam claims it can.

It is noted that the issue and definition of social capital is widely debated. For example, Foley and Edwards (1996) question Putnam's use of group associations in a similar vein as Dalton (2006). Moreover, Foley and Edwards (1996) question Putnam's definition of civil society surrounding the distinction Putnam makes between social capital and political capital. Booth and Bayer Richard (1998) support this argument in their study on social capital in Latin America. Their argument is that it is political capital that links formal group activism to democracy, not social capital. They claim, "Citizens' interpersonal trust and political information bear less clearly and less directly upon levels of democracy than the political capital variables do" (Booth and Bayer Richard 1998, p.796).

In *'Social Groups, Sport and Political Engagement in New Zealand'* (2004), Donovan, Bowler, Hanneman and Karp test both social capital theory and participation theory using New Zealand as a case study. Put simply, the study finds that membership in voluntary social groups is, in general, positively associated with political involvement. However, to understand the significance of the study so that it can be related it to Putnam's theory, a closer examination of the results is needed. Firstly, a distinction is made between passive and active participation in politics. Out of a list of eight political activities people responded to participating in, it was found that the four highest participated in activities were all passive activities and the four least participated in activities were all active activities.[5] More importantly, the Donovan et al (2004) study finds that Putnam's theory of group participation leading to greater social capital, effectively leading to greater political participation, is mostly accurate. It found that membership in unions, community groups and cultural organisations are associated with the active dimension of political engagement (Donovan et al 2004). Interestingly, the paper focuses much attention to sports groups in New Zealand. Donovan et al describe that this is not only to do with New Zealand being "sports-mad" but that sports groups are very widespread, more so than other groups in New Zealand society (2004, p.418). The results show that sports groups are associated with higher levels of political engagement in voting and political discussion.

However, in a study by McVey and Vowles entitled, *'Virtuous Circle or Cul de Sac? Social Capital and Political Participation in New Zealand'* (2005), an argument is made that the Donovan et al study is flawed because is it based on assumptions about group membership and, consequently, the authors conclude that in New Zealand there is only very

[5] The four highest participated in - Voting 86%; Signed Petition 82%; Discussed Politics 78%; Boycotted Product/Service 36% . The four least participated in - Joined a Legal Protest 22%; Wrote to Newspaper 16%; Phoned Talkback Radio 8%; Worked on a Political Campaign 3% (Donovan et al 2004, p.410).

weak support for the link between social capital theory and participation. The article argues that when a closer look is taken at group membership levels, the increased levels of trust and participation that should occur by simply being a part of these groups does not happen. The emphasis of the authors' argument is that solely having membership in a group does not necessarily build social capital and, added to this, much depends on the type of group a person is a member of (McVey and Vowles 2005). They state that Putnam-inspired social capital theory provides little indication of the differences in effects that association brings. "For Putnam, association is itself the generator of social capital; the purpose of the association is, at best, secondary" (McVey and Vowles 2005, p.12). They explain their statement using several reasons. Firstly, they argue that when analysing membership and social capital we must be aware of the selection bias effect, meaning that those who join such groups are already sufficiently engaged to take out membership (McVey and Vowles 2005). Secondly, they argue that more emphasis must be placed on the type and dynamic of the group, such as the extent of social interaction in the group (McVey and Vowles 2005). A third point raised is that different groups have a different effect on participation. For example, a group that requires membership but not active participation will not have the same effect on building social capital compared to a group that encourages regular participation in activities (McVey and Vowles 2005). McVey and Vowles explicitly state that, "Membership alone in recreational groups does not enhance active participation" (2005, p.16). The authors are led to conclude that across several studies, including their own on New Zealand, the associational effects on political participation have been shown to be "weak to non-existent" and that the claims of Donovan et al (2004) concerning sports membership do not appear to be true. This research will test levels of social capital in order to add to the literature of social capital and its effect in New Zealand.

It should be noted that in New Zealand the issue of social capital has also been examined at a policy level numerous times. Government ministries, such as the Ministry of Social Development and Statistics New Zealand, have looked at the concept of social capital for public policy reasons. The Institute of Policy Studies at Victoria University, Wellington, have published several publications in terms of public discussion on social capital in New Zealand,[6] with Tom Healy (2004) producing the most comprehensive regarding social capital implications in New Zealand.

[6] These include: Social Capital and Policy Development (1997); Social Capital in Action (1999); Building Social Capital (2002).

CHAPTER 3 – TESTING CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

The literature tells us that increasing and fostering good citizenship in a state is essential in ensuring the democratic legitimacy and stability of that state. Based on the theory that good citizenship can be fostered through correct education, this thesis will empirically examine the effect that citizenship education can have and will take into consideration the current factors involved with implementing citizenship education in New Zealand with a focus on young migrants. Using the ideas that have been discussed in the theoretical framework, such as notions of citizenship, education, and social capital, it will be analysed whether introducing citizenship education in New Zealand will have a positive effect on active political participation, which for the purposes of this study is measured through voter turnout.

NEW ZEALAND'S CURRICULUM AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

At the end of 2007, the New Zealand school curriculum was adjusted after an intensive period of deliberation. Despite the recommendations by two select committees that encouraged citizenship education in the school curriculum[7], there is no mention of 'citizenship education' in the new syllabus. However, there are many terms used in the language of the new curriculum that appear to be aimed at enforcing the knowledge and skills observed in citizenship education curriculums. For example, on the general outline of the New Zealand school curriculum it mentions the vision is for students to be "actively involved"; key competencies include "participating and contributing"; and a core principle is "community engagement" (New Zealand Curriculum Website 2008). All of these phrases are important aspects of teaching citizenship education and would be key ideas in a formal citizenship education curriculum. Looking more specifically at the current school curriculum, these ideas of citizenship education would most likely be incorporated into the 'social sciences' syllabus. At a level four stage of education (aimed roughly for students between Year 4 and Year 11)[8] in the current social sciences syllabus, four of the objectives appear to be relevant to citizenship education. These are: understanding how leadership is acquired and exercised; understanding culture and heritage; understanding group decision making and the effect on the community; and understanding how people participate individually and collectively in a community (New Zealand Curriculum Website 2008). Similarly, the level

[7] These are the 'Justice and Electoral Select Committee Report: Inquiry into the 2004 Local Body Elections (2005)' and the 'Report of the Constitutional Arrangements Committee (2005)', discussed in Chapter 2.
[8] This encompasses students between the ages of 8 and 16.

six stage of education (aimed roughly for students between Year 7 and Year 13)[9] objectives include understanding how individuals, groups and institutions work to promote social justice and human rights; and understanding how cultures adapt and change and the consequences this has on society (New Zealand Curriculum Website 2008).

Despite such efforts to incorporate important aspects of citizenship education into the current curriculum, the lack of explicit citizenship education is still noticeable. Without explicit citizenship education in the school curriculum the onus is on the students whether or not they make the connection between what they are currently learning in the curriculum and their role as active citizens. If youth political engagement is low, perhaps it is likely that they will not make this connection and the subtle aspects of citizenship education in the current curriculum will go unnoticed. Hayward (2006) argues that there are indications in New Zealand that younger voters are disadvantaged by a lack of formal voter education.

When discussing the United States, Putnam argues that, "We need to create new structures and policies to facilitate renewed civic engagement" (2000, p.403). In New Zealand's situation, the same can be argued. The new structures could be achieved within the education system and promoted by the government. According to Marshall (1950), discussed earlier, we are currently at a situation where the state is involved in citizenship, through social welfare and education. Marshall (1950) argues that this is the fullest expression of citizenship because everyone is able to participate and feel like a full member of society. Consequently, the government could fulfil this level of citizenship and take action to do so. To solve a civic crisis, a wholesale change is needed in the institutions that structure our private, professional, social and public lives (Feldstein and Putnam 2000). Therefore, the implementation of citizenship education could provide the change that is needed. Whether it is likely to be effective in producing the necessary results is the focus of this research.

VOTING AS AN INDICATOR FOR PARTICIPATION

Much emphasis is based on the electoral turnout aspect of political participation in this research. It must be noted that voting is not the only way to participate politically or to measure civic engagement (Norris 2002; Balsano 2005; Dalton 2006). However, for the purpose of this research, electoral turnout is an important and simple indicator to determine levels of participation, especially for identifying certain groups in New Zealand, and it is an important aspect of New Zealand's democracy. In terms of civic engagement, voting is the

[9] This encompasses students between the ages of 11 and 18.

most politically salient form of engagement (Vowles 2004). As Putnam writes, “Voting is by a substantial margin the most common form of political activity and it embodies the most fundamental democratic principle of equality” (2000, p.35).

Dudley and Gitelson (2003) identify an important point when looking at the link between voting and citizenship. They state that if citizenship is looked at as a ‘citizen-as-voter’, political knowledge requirements are less than that of citizens in a ‘strong democracy’, which incorporates active participation and engagement in politics (Dudley and Gitelson 2003). Here, Dudley and Gitelson are implying that in a strong democracy more political activity than simply voting is needed. A stronger democracy is essentially what this thesis is striving to achieve, so it seems somewhat contradictory to focus on voting alone when Dudley and Gitelson (2003), among others (Barber 1984; Dagger 1997; Norris 2002; Dalton 2006), state that voting does not necessarily encourage the high participation levels needed in a strong democracy. In fact, Norris (2002) would argue that voting is a poor indicator of political engagement because it does not deal with the trend of new modes of participation. While these prepositions are correct to a certain degree, without an acceptable voter turnout a basic level of political participation is not being achieved.

Furthermore, the function of voting in elections is necessary in terms of parliament and government formation. In this respect, voting is a fundamental form of political participation because it determines who rules. Without voting in elections, government formation is a problem. Voting is necessary to ensure that the legislature and executive are formed.

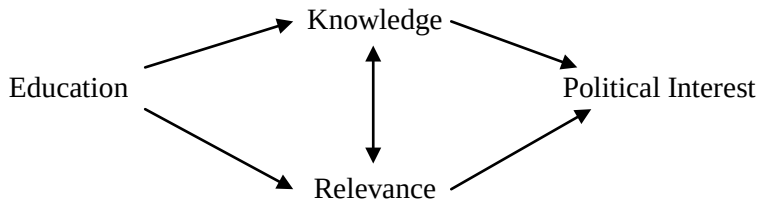
Therefore, voting is relevant and low levels of electoral turnout must be dealt with before a healthy democracy can be established. As Putnam argues, “voters are more likely to be interested in politics, to give to charity, to volunteer, to serve on juries, attend community school board meetings, participate in public demonstrations, and cooperate with their fellow citizens” (2000, p.35). All of these actions show what is needed in a strong democracy and what participation in elections can achieve. Therefore, voting is seen as an initiator into other forms of political participation and is an important, convenient and relevant indicator of political participation for this research.

TESTING CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

The aim of this research is to determine whether implementing citizenship education will increase the active participation of young migrants in New Zealand, causing an increase

in voter turnout. Four hypotheses have been constructed to analyse whether citizenship education is likely to be successful. These four hypotheses are shown in diagram form and will be individually explained.

Figure 1: Model for Hypothesis 1 & 2



Political Knowledge and Political Interest

The first hypothesis to be tested is that low levels of political knowledge is causing disinterest among young migrants. The importance of focussing on political interest is based upon Bahry and Silver's (1990) theory that interest is related to political activism. Using this theory with Almond and Verba's (1963) finding that the more educated individual is more likely to follow politics and pay attention to elections, and the IEA study that found a link between knowledge and interest in participating in civic activities, supporting the work of Jennings (1996), the theoretical basis of this hypothesis is evident.

It is believed that the reason young migrants are less likely to turn out to vote is because they are disinterested in politics due to a lack of knowledge about politics. If people are disinterested in political participation they will be less likely to vote because, as Putnam states, if people do not know the rules of the game and do not care who wins, they are unlikely to get involved (Putnam 2000). The only evidence from New Zealand concerning migrant interest levels in politics comes from Park (2006, p.46) who states that only 30.8 percent of Koreans were "fairly" or "very" interested in New Zealand politics. This hypothesis is made on the assumption that increasing political knowledge will increase interest in politics, ultimately leading to higher voter turnout. Many of the discussed theorists such as Torney-Purta (1986; 2001), Smolicz (1997), Putnam (2000), Dudley and Gitelson (2003), and Dalton (2006), also recognise the importance of high levels of citizen knowledge and most link this to the need for education.

Political Interest and Political Relevance

The second hypothesis to test is that the disinterest is due to the perceived irrelevance of politics for young migrants. This hypothesis is once again based upon Bahry and Silver's (1990) theory that political interest and political activism are related and derives from a finding by Torney-Purta et al (2001), which discusses the importance of education in increasing knowledge. It is argued that not only is education linked with knowledge, but education is also linked to people seeing relevance in the political sphere. As seen in Figure 1, there is a relationship between knowledge and relevance. This is because it is argued that the more knowledgeable people become, the more likely they are to find politics relevant, and the more relevant people find politics, the more knowledgeable they become about politics because they understand the implications that politics has on their life. Therefore, the argument is that education is the prerequisite to not only develop citizens' knowledge but develop the psyche in citizens that politics is relevant to them. Dudley and Gitelson's (2003) comment that many find that the political world has little to offer supports this argument. Similarly, Kymlicka's (2002) argument that politics has become too large in scale, too manipulated by money, too stage-managed by the media to be rewarding for most citizens also helps emphasise the fact that citizens may see politics as irrelevant. This hypothesis is testing whether there is a link between interest and relevance, and whether an increase in education will increase levels of interest and relevance.

Figure 2: Model for Hypothesis 3 & 4

Social Capital and Political Participation

The third hypothesis to be tested is that increasing levels of social capital will increase active political participation of young migrants. Putnam (2000) proffers the view that the low levels of voter turnout may be put down to low levels of social capital, which decreases civic engagement. Reaffirming the previous two hypotheses and furthering his argument on the importance of social capital Putnam states, "Knowledge about public affairs and practice in

everyday civic skills are prerequisites for effective participation" (2000, p.405). Therefore, if knowledge is low and skills are not practiced often, participation is likely to be little and ineffective. This supports the argument of Almond and Verba (1963) who state that the more educated individual is more likely to be an active member of some organisation. This being the case, a possible way to get young migrants voting in greater numbers is to increase their knowledge and encourage good civic skills and practices through building social capital. Putnam claims that "civic connections help make us healthy, wealthy and wise" (2000, p.287) and it is social capital that "greases the wheels that allow communities to advance smoothly" (2000, p.288). More importantly, the significance to this research is the link between social capital and increasing voter turnout. The link is the effect that social capital has on the levels of political sophistication and socialisation that are gained from the social interaction promoted by high levels of social capital. When social capital levels are high, it is more likely that citizens will turn out to vote because they feel they better understand political issues or can make a difference to their community. This is called a rise in personal political efficacy. Catt and Northcote state, "Attempts to increase turnout need to first increase levels of efficacy" (2006, p.5). Therefore, social capital is a way to increase turnout by increasing political efficacy, through an increase in political sophistication and socialisation.

Citizenship Education and Active Citizens

The final hypothesis that this research will test is that citizenship education will increase knowledge, political sophistication and socialisation, producing more active citizens, leading to higher voter turnout of young migrants. Essentially, this is the crucial hypothesis for this research. This is based heavily on the education theory discussed in Chapter 2. The premise of this hypothesis is Almond and Verba's (1963) findings that the more educated a person is, the more information they have and the more aware of government they are. Supporting this hypothesis are the IEA findings that state education increases the likelihood of knowledge and participation in politics. Using the argument that more than just civic education is needed in order for this style of education to be effective, citizenship education seems the likely answer to promote active citizenship with positive results. The argument is that if citizenship education is effectively implemented, taking into account issues of citizenship, migrants, participation and education theory, it will provide an effective solution to New Zealand's waning electoral turnout and, more specifically, it will encourage young migrants in New Zealand to become more active citizens. As previously mentioned, theorists

from across all elements of the literature covered in this research argue in favour for increasing the knowledge, political sophistication and socialisation of citizens in order to strengthen society and democracy. According to much of the results from previous studies and the international trend in adapting national syllabuses to deal with issues similar to those that New Zealand faces, citizenship education seems a viable option to increase active citizenship and ultimately voter turnout. The analysis of this research will determine just how viable and effective citizenship education might be in New Zealand.

SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

To stop the declining voting trend in New Zealand and if high democratic standards are to be maintained, action must be taken. The aim of this thesis is to understand whether citizenship education can increase voter turnout in New Zealand by increasing the political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation of young migrants. Young migrants are one group in New Zealand that need to be encouraged to vote so that participation does not continue to decline. Implementing citizenship education that promotes the correct aspects of citizenship, knowledge, sophistication and social capital could provide the solution to New Zealand's waning electoral turnout and enthusiasm. Analysis of the four hypotheses should provide an insight into the attitudes, problems and potential solutions encompassed in determining whether citizenship education can be an effective tool in strengthening democracy in New Zealand.

CITIZENSHIP AND MULTICULTURALISM IN NEW ZEALAND

Given New Zealand's transition into a multicultural nation, much thought must be given to migrant cultures that are now represented in the population, especially when subjects such as citizenship education and political inclusion are being debated. The clear aspect that must be dealt with is framing the notion of 'citizenship' and the effects defining such a word can have on different ethnicities and cultures.

Gaining citizenship in a state refers to the acquisition of full membership in that state. As discussed earlier, Marshall (1950) believes that a full member of society has citizenship status bestowed upon them and more importantly this represents equality. From a legal perspective, a citizen of a state is entitled to the benefits of that state, usually in return for compliance to the rules existent in that state. Often, such benefits include the right to vote. As earlier identified, permanent residents are entitled to vote in New Zealand. Therefore,

defining citizenship in terms of the right to vote can be misleading in the New Zealand context. However, this should not detract from the fact that voting is an important part of New Zealand citizenship.

Recent increases in migration to New Zealand are due, in part, to the economic benefits that migrants give to New Zealand. This impact of migrants is visible by those filling many areas of employment left open by emigrating New Zealanders. As Don Brash, former leader of the opposition, explains, "At a minimum, we need migrants to offset the large and growing outflow of Kiwis" (2006). The increase in immigration has led to new social factors that must be dealt with. For example, new migrant communities have formed within the New Zealand population, some of which are quite large. According to the most recent census in 2006, the two largest non-European or Maori ethnic groups are migrant groups. These two groups make up 15.7 percent of the population - Asian 9.2% and Pacific Peoples 6.5% (Census Statistics 2006). In fact, Asian and Pacific Peoples had the largest increases in population since the previous 2001 census. The Asian ethnic group increased by nearly 50 percent, while the Pacific Peoples group increased by 14.7 percent (Census Statistics 2006).

For migrant citizenship to be effective in any state, recognition, toleration and acceptance is needed. Therefore, it must be accepted by New Zealanders that New Zealand is a multicultural state and with that comes the influence of new and different cultures. Acceptance of migrants in New Zealand is a crucial step in uncovering what is needed in a syllabus involving citizenship education. Safran's argument of "identative citizenship" enables the right of language and religion for migrants (1997, p.329). "Political citizenship", on the other hand, enables the right to vote (Safran 1997, p.329). It would seem that, on paper, New Zealand already enables and recognises both types of citizenship to migrants. However, the key for successfully dealing with migrant citizenship is full acceptance of these ideas by the New Zealand public. It is important for different cultures to carry on cultural traditions, albeit in a new state, because there is a difference between a person's nationality and person's citizenship (Lardy 1997; Safran 1997). Therefore, in the same way that migrants' nationalities are built, New Zealanders must understand that their 'nationality' is changing by becoming a multicultural nation. In turn, the migrants themselves can hold on to their own nationality and become a citizen of New Zealand – a new multicultural New Zealand –in which everyone in New Zealand can be a part of and be proud of. As Tan (2007) writes, "National identity does not come with just the issuing of a piece of paper". National identity comes from all the people within that nation contributing, understanding, accepting

and recognising what that nation has to offer. “For someone to identify with New Zealand, what is more crucial is his or her emotional commitment to the nation – and this must be actively fostered” (Tan 2007). Therefore, to increase migrants’ commitment to New Zealand citizenship and participation in the political sphere and increase cultural tolerance and acceptance, citizenship education could be the answer.

As has been established, migrants participate economically and socially to New Zealand society, but many are reluctant to participate politically (Vowles et al 2004; Catt and Northcote 2006; Park 2006). There are several possible reasons for this. One reason may be because of a lack of knowledge of New Zealand politics. Park states that “not knowing enough about New Zealand politics” was the most common reason for not voting among the Asian participants in his study (2006, p.47). Another possible reason may be that political interest levels are low. For example, Park found that only 30.8 percent of Koreans were “fairly” or “very” interested in New Zealand politics (2006, p.46). These possible explanations for low political participation can be summed up by stating that migrant participation may be low due to low levels of political interest, knowledge and sophistication, which are the core aspects of the hypotheses that will be empirically examined in this research.

CASE STUDY: BRITAIN & THE CRICK REPORT

As briefly mentioned earlier, Britain adopted citizenship education into their curriculum in 2002, on the basis of a report written by the Advisory Group on Citizenship led by Sir Bernard Crick. The report, known as the Crick Report, was set up to establish if, and how, citizenship education would be implemented in Britain. The report covers many complex issues and is only relevant and specific to Britain in some respects. However, much of what is concluded in the report is very interesting and is applicable to the situation New Zealand faces. In Britain, the interest for looking at citizenship education was because of the “widely held belief that the public are becoming less and less interested in politics and issues of governance” (O’Hare and Gay 2006, p.3). As previously explained, the same can be argued for New Zealand. New Zealand could learn from other countries’ experiences to ensure the right decisions are made. The key aspects and conclusions of the Crick report will be discussed.

Firstly, it must be noted that the Advisory Group unanimously concluded that “citizenship education and the teaching of democracy... is so important both for schools and

the life of the nation that there must be a statutory requirement on schools to ensure that it is part of the entitlement of all pupils" (Crick Report 1998, p.7). The reasoning for this conclusion is outlined through the four key beneficiaries of making citizenship education a statutory requirement: Firstly, the benefits will be seen by pupils, who will become empowered to become active and informed citizens; Secondly, teachers will benefit as guidance and advice will be given to them regarding a coherent citizenship education curriculum; Thirdly, group to benefit will be schools because they will be able to develop effective education for all pupils and relate positively to the community; Finally, society in general will benefit because the citizenry will be active and politically literate, enabling people to influence decisions.

The report then describes what is meant by the term citizenship. The work of T.H. Marshall is recognised, discussing the three levels of citizenship – civil, political and social. The report states that interaction among these three elements will promote active citizenship. Furthermore, regarding citizenship and multiculturalism the report states that the aim should be to find a sense of common citizenship and a national identity that is secure enough to find a place for plurality of identities (Crick Report 1998). Majorities must respect, understand and tolerate minorities, and minorities must learn and respect the laws, codes and conventions as much as the majority because this process helps foster common citizenship (Crick Report 1998). This is in accordance with the ideas of Smolicz (1997) discussed earlier.

The Crick Report identifies three related ideas that citizenship education involves which should be encouraged in the promotion of citizenship education in Britain. The first of these is social and moral responsibility, described as children learning "socially and morally good behaviour both in and beyond the classroom" because "guidance on moral values and personal development are essential preconditions of citizenship" (Crick Report 1998, p.11). The second idea is community involvement, which means "learning about and becoming helpfully involved" in the life and concerns of the community and involves the idea that people should join voluntary groups because it uses and needs political skills (Crick Report 1998, p.12). This supports Putnam's (2000) argument for increasing social capital. The final idea is political literacy. Political literacy means that people are learning about how to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge, skills and values (Crick Report 1998). Public life is referred to as an all encompassing term meaning everything from employment, to conflict resolution, to decision making and so on.

With these related ideas of what citizenship education entails and understanding what is meant by citizenship, the Advisory Group makes recommendations as how to implement citizenship education into the British community, with a focus on the method of schooling. The Crick Report (1998) states that citizenship education should be a "vital and distinct statutory part of the curriculum" (p.13) and "is important enough to warrant a separate specification within the national framework" (p.18). More specifically, the Crick Report (1998) suggests that citizenship education overlaps most commonly with the subjects history, geography and English and rather than having detailed programmes of study, there should be specific learning outcomes that should take no more than five percent of curriculum time.

On the basis of the Crick Report, citizenship education was implemented into the British national school curriculum in 2002. For students aged 11 to 16 in England, citizenship education is compulsory and is based around the three related areas of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy, as recommended by the Report. Since the inclusion of citizenship education into Britain there have been, arguably, mixed results. Most of the negative feedback is not specifically targeted at the content of the citizenship syllabus, but rather it concerns insufficient funding and resources for teaching citizenship (Crace 2005). Alternatively, a report by the Community Service Volunteers states that 25 percent of students thought citizenship education had given them more respect for others and 17 percent thought that citizenship education promoted greater tolerance (Crace 2004). While citizenship education is still in its early stages in Britain, specific conclusions cannot be made about its impact yet. The values and issues that are being taught are not the basis of much of the criticism, although some theoretical criticism does exist (Olssen 2004). Rather, the criticism that the citizenship education syllabus is attracting mostly concerns issues surrounding the practical implementation of citizenship education. Therefore, it can be concluded that the citizenship education ideals are still relevant and important.

Many of the issues and concepts that the Advisory Group had to deal with when writing the Crick Report are similar to New Zealand's current situation. Therefore, the Crick Report can act as an example for New Zealand when determining whether or not to implement citizenship education into the national school curriculum. The overwhelmingly positive response for the inclusion of citizenship education and the justifications outlined in the Crick Report should be of much interest to New Zealand policy makers, especially those concerned with levels of democracy.

CHAPTER 4 – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The objective of this chapter is to outline the practical research methodology. The previous chapters have given the framework for this research, outlined the hypotheses this research is based on, and discussed important aspects concerning citizenship education in New Zealand. The remainder of this thesis will be concerned with testing and analysing the levels of political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation that young migrants have in order to determine whether implementing citizenship education will increase active political participation.

Firstly, the mixed approach for gathering information, using both quantitative and qualitative methods, will be discussed and justified. Next, the quantitative and qualitative methods of gathering information will be discussed separately in order to examine in greater depth how the information is being gathered and analysed, whilst giving justification for these methods. Finally, the issue of sampling is discussed to ensure this aspect of good research is covered.

THE MIXED APPROACH OF RESEARCH: A QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE APPROACH

In this research a mixed approach, using both quantitative and qualitative methods, has been adopted in order to obtain the necessary information to make a well-rounded assessment of the political knowledge and sophistication of young migrants and ultimately the effectiveness of citizenship education. The quantitative aspect will be conducted through surveys and the qualitative aspect will be conducted through interviews,[10] both of which will be discussed in more depth later.

The reason for choosing a mixed approach (sometimes referred to as an integrated approach) is to better understand the thoughts, knowledge and attitudes of participants in the research. Both the quantitative and qualitative research approaches have positive and negative aspects that when combined produce a situation where the positive aspects complement each other and the negative aspects negate each other. This is because the different methods can look at a phenomenon in different ways. For example, quantitative methods of research are

[10] This research has been approved by the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee. To ensure that ethical standards have been met, consent forms and information sheets were handed to all necessary parties. These can be found in the appendix. Furthermore, confidentiality for all participants has been maintained and pseudonyms have been used where appropriate. Finally, there is no issue concerning cross-cultural research, according to the guidelines of Spoonley (2003). These guidelines can be found in the appendix.

often good at showing trends, especially with large amounts of data or a large sample, but can lack the depth of knowledge for why these trends are apparent. On the other hand, qualitative methods often give good depth and insight into how and why things happen, but are not as useful for showing trends or analysing larger data sets or samples. Therefore, if both methods are used correctly, we can gain information on trends from larger amounts of data and can also understand the reasons why we see these trends. As Tolich and Davidson note, "The quantitative approach provides researchers with breadth while the qualitative provides them with depth" (2003, p.122). The importance of looking at information in this way is because, essentially, the more information we have about a subject, the more we can understand the subject. For example, we cannot always take answers from statistics at face-value because they cannot be expected to provide us with subtle insights (Oppenheim 2004). Likewise, qualitative information is often subjective, so we must be careful when drawing conclusions from qualitative methods alone, especially when a small sample is used.

When properly combined, one research approach can enhance the other (Bryman 2004). In terms of this research, it is the qualitative method that will enhance the use of the quantitative method. By analysing the data from the survey, trends will be detected. To further examine the trends found from the survey and to help explain them, interviews will be used, thus providing a better, well-rounded picture of young migrant political attitudes, knowledge, sophistication and behaviour. This method is supported by Bryman, who states that "qualitative research may facilitate the interpretation of relationships between variables" (2004, p.507). He explains his claim by stating that, "Quantitative research readily allows the researcher to establish relationships among variables, but is often weak when it comes to exploring the reasons for those relationships. A qualitative study can be used to help explain the factors underlying the broad relationships that are established" (Bryman 2004, p.507).

QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

As stated earlier, the quantitative aspect of my research is the use of a survey.[11] The survey is structured into four sections. Section A is made up of questions concerning the respondents' demographics and participation in activities, such as religion and sport. This section of the survey is to gauge levels of social capital. Section B is made up of ten questions that test the respondents' knowledge of New Zealand politics and the political process. Section C is made up of statements in which the respondent must rate their level of

[11] The full survey used in this research can be found in the appendix.

agreement or disagreement concerning the statement. This process, using the Likert scale which will be discussed later, examines the respondents' attitudes and opinions. Finally, Section D asks where respondents gain their political knowledge from and whether they have learned about politics at school. From the information gained from these four sections, trends should be able to be seen on the political knowledge, sophistication, participation and attitudes of young migrants in New Zealand.

There are four main reasons why a survey has been chosen to gather data for this research. Firstly, a survey of this style has not been administered before, so it should provide new insight into youth participation and citizenship. Secondly, surveys are a good way to gather data from a large sample, especially in order to draw conclusions from the information given. It is easier to draw conclusions from larger amounts of data using surveys because surveys use pre-coded and closed ended questions that give options of a range of possible answers for the respondent to choose from. By doing this, data can be analysed easier because there are only a select amount of fixed answers for the researcher to examine (Carlson and Hyde 2003; Moser and Kalton 2004). Thirdly, surveys give researchers the opportunity to cover a wide range of questions in a single, simple manner. For example, a survey could possibly consist of fifty questions. Whereas, in another form of information gathering, such as interviewing, it is unlikely that fifty questions will be asked of the interviewee. Therefore, surveys can gather a larger amount of information in terms of the questions answered by the respondent and the topics covered. The final reason for the use of a survey brings the two previous points into the practical sense. To gather the amount of information that is wanted from this research in order to draw legitimate conclusions, a survey is the practical way to carry out the research as time and resource constraints are a restriction.

MEASURING THE CONCEPTS

There are essentially three key general topics that the quantitative research will examine. These topics are levels of social capital, levels of knowledge, and participant attitudes. To explain and further justify this research, the methods to gain the information and analyse these topics will be discussed.

Measuring Social Capital

As discussed, much of the recent work on social capital has been done by Robert Putnam. Putnam has published several studies on the levels of social capital, some of which have been mentioned previously regarding the United States (1995; 2000) and one comprehensive publication on Italy (1993). Furthermore, Putnam is widely credited with bringing the issue of social capital to the forefront in contemporary political science. It is because of these credentials concerning social capital research that the research methodology used for measuring social capital in this paper is based on Putnam's work.

Measuring social capital is difficult due to the seemingly endless limits of what can be considered as activities in which to build social capital. For example, one way to build social capital is to talk to your neighbour. However, if you were to ask people how often they talk to their neighbours, or when they last talked to their neighbour, many would not know because it is something that is not often recorded or regulated. Therefore, gathering data on the level of activity people have in such circumstances can be hard to monitor. That is why a method that is mostly concerned with regulated or memorable activities has been chosen to gauge social capital.

Activities that are considered to be regulated or memorable include going to church, playing sport, or participating in a hobby group. This is because when these activities are participated in they will often be regulated (such as someone playing rugby every Saturday or someone going to church every Sunday) or memorable (such as remembering a goal they scored playing soccer or the theme of a priests' sermon). Moreover, these activities are a good place to start when measuring social capital because they provide the basis of many peoples' social lives. Religion, hobbies and sports are activities that people base much of their spare time around if they do participate in activities, as argued by Donovan et al for example, who argue that New Zealand is "sports-mad" because of its widespread nature and appeal in New Zealand (2004, p.418). Furthermore, such activities often include mixing with other people, which builds general social skills and, more importantly for the purpose of this research, builds levels of communication and conversation.

Putnam has also used these activities as a starting point when he has measured social capital (1993; 2000). To gain general levels of participation, Putnam uses surveys in conjunction with membership levels to determine levels of social interaction and membership (1993; 2000). These surveys cover many aspects involved with social capital including participation in affiliations, political activity, regularity of social occasions and social habits,

such as watching television. For the purposes of this research and due to time restraints, all of these aspects cannot be covered. However, by using the frequency of social activities as a measurement of social capital, enough of an understanding should be gained about levels of social capital to draw conclusions from. Also, it should be noted that other aspects of measuring social capital are tested in this research, such as the regularity of talking about politics with others, but these are not examined in the same depth.

Measuring Knowledge and Attitudes

The political knowledge and attitudes of general populations have been tested many times before. For this reason, the political knowledge and attitude measurement questions have been drawn from essentially two main sources. These sources provide a good basis for this research by using questions that are both internationally recognised and used in the New Zealand context.

The first source is the World Values Survey 1999-2002.[12] Due to its credibility in not only assessing the values of societies, but also in research methodology and recognition, the World Values Survey measurements have been used verbatim or are very closely aligned to help ensure that the measurements used are commonly accepted.

The second source used is the New Zealand Election Study (NZES) survey.[13] The NZES survey is quite comprehensive and covers many aspects of the New Zealand voter. For the same reasons that the World Values Survey has been used, the NZES survey has been used to ensure that the survey used in this research uses commonly accepted, legitimate and credible measurements.[14] The specific data that these sources produced has not been used.

As mentioned earlier, Section B of consists of ten questions that ask respondents to answer what is believed to be basic and essential elements of New Zealand politics and institutions in order to gather information on levels of political knowledge. Some of these questions are reproduced from the NZES survey to ensure legitimacy, while the rest are relevant to current New Zealand politics. Question topics include the regularity of general

[12] The World Values Survey questions were obtained from Dalton, Russell, Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies (4th ed.), CQ Press, Washington, 2006. The World Values Survey was an international study that spanned sixty-five countries across six continents and containing almost 80 percent of the world's population (Dalton 2006).

[13] The NZES survey was accessed from http://www.nzes.org/docs/codebooks/2005_Mass+Survey.pdf, accessed 12/05/08. The NZES survey is a survey administered post-election and in its last use included 3,743 respondents (NZES Survey 2005). The 2008 results of the NZES survey were not available at the time of submission of this thesis.

[14] For the quantitative aspect of this research, the survey gains validity from the standard of questions asked. The questions and statements in the survey are based on those from the World Values Survey and NZES to ensure this validity.

elections in New Zealand, what MMP stands for, and asking who New Zealand's head of state is.

In Section C of the survey, the key aspect involves using the Likert scale. The Likert scale is where respondents are asked to evaluate their level of agreement or disagreement to a statement over a scale of possible answers.[15]

The Likert scale can be used to analyse data in three ways. Firstly, if wanting to gauge the respondents' general level of responses, the coded answers can be added up to gather a positive or negative inclination of their answers. Secondly, the coding can be used for simply analysing single answers. Finally, the Likert scale can show a favourable or unfavourable response from over a number of respondents. Given that each answer has a numerical value attached to it, an addition of all the responses given divided by the number of respondents can gauge whether, over a group of people, answers were favourable or unfavourable. This third method of analysis of the Likert scale is the one preferred in this research because it allows for the comparison of the target group (young migrants) against other groups in the sample or the rest of the sample as one group.

The reason for choosing to use the Likert scale is because it provides more than a simple yes or no, agree or disagree closed question, which means there are a greater number of options for the respondent to answer. Moser and Kalton argue that the greater number of codes, the more accurate the answers are because "the finer shades of opinion" can be seen (2004, p.84). Oppenheim (2004) agrees stating that having more options than a simple agree or disagree reduces inaccuracies and one-sided responses. For this reason, the reliability of the Likert scale tends to be good and is often higher than that of corresponding scales (Oppenheim 2004).

[15] The scale most commonly uses five points. An example of the Likert scale is below.

"My vote makes a difference in elections"

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

The answer of the respondent is then coded numerically, in this case between one and five because that is the number of possible answers. Favourable statements are coded as five and unfavourable statements are coded as one. In the example above, the favourable answer is 'Strongly Agree', therefore if this answer is chosen by the respondent it will be coded as five. Likewise, the unfavourable statement 'Strongly Disagree' would be coded as one. The answers between these responses are coded four, three and two respectively, following down from the most favourable answer.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The qualitative aspect of this research will be carried out by unstructured interviews. As mentioned earlier, the qualitative aspect of the research is to strengthen the quantitative findings. The point of using this method of research is to understand why people think the way they do, not just what they think. To understand why people act as they do we need to understand the meaning and significance they give to their actions. By doing this, it gives us the depth needed to better understand the information that the quantitative research gives us, and therefore draw more accurate conclusions. Jones (2004) explains the significance and role of interviewing as a means for effective qualitative research. She states:

> "For to understand other persons' constructions of reality we would well to ask them... and to ask them in such a way that they can tell us in their terms (rather than those imposed rigidly and a priori by ourselves) and in a depth which addresses the rich context that is the substance of their meanings (rather than through isolated fragments squeezed onto a few lines of paper)" (Jones 2004, p.258).

The reason qualitative research can give the deeper insight into people's responses is due to the nature of open-ended questions. Open-ended questions are a flexible means for obtaining any type of information from a respondent (Carlson and Hyde 2003). This is because open-ended questions do not give the interviewee any readymade answers and lets them answer in any way they wish. Tolich and Davidson (2003) state that in qualitative research you can change and alter the focus of information, which is why unstructured interviews are often used for qualitative research.

Unstructured interviewing allows more opportunity for interviewees to elaborate and explain opinions, compared to the use of other qualitative methods, such as structured interviews. Opie (2003) states that the focus of unstructured interviews is on reproducing the world of the person being interviewed and not attempting to make sense of it from some predetermined interest. The key to unstructured interviews is letting the interviewee elaborate without putting possible answers to them. By doing this, we can gather all aspects of what the interviewee is thinking without imposing our own opinions on them. However, it must be noted that some form of monitoring by the interviewer must be done to ensure that the interviewee does not stray from the general topics that are to be covered by the interview. To achieve this, interviewers in an unstructured interview should have a list of themes they wish to cover and a list of prompts to keep respondents focussed (Opie 2003).[16]

[16] The prompts for discussion in the unstructured interviews can be found in the appendix.

Prompts for the unstructured interviews vary across the range of topics that are covered in this thesis. For example, the prompts used include topics such as the interviewee's attitude to election outcomes, political conversations they have, and their interest in learning politics at school. The answers to these types of questions should complement the survey answers well and provide the interviewee the opportunity to expand on their survey answers due to the open-ended nature of the prompts.[17]

RESEARCH SAMPLING

This thesis is focussed on the political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation of young migrants because young migrants are less likely to participate in the political sphere compared to other groups in New Zealand. Therefore, a good way to research young migrants is to approach them during their final years of high school. This is because many students will be nearing voting age or are of voting age and have come through the New Zealand secondary school curriculum. This also helps to understand what level of political knowledge the students have gained at school and what sense of citizenship education they leave school with.

The sample of students will be divided into two groups. One group is made up of non-migrants that have been living in New Zealand for all or most of their lives. The other group is made up of migrants that have arrived recently in New Zealand, preferably within the last four years. The choice to use students that have arrived in New Zealand recently is because they would not have had the same education as students who have spent their life in New Zealand schools. Therefore, it can be determined whether these migrant students gain any aspects of citizenship education while they spend time in the New Zealand school system and whether their knowledge and sophistication is different to that of people who have spent all, or the majority, of their life in New Zealand. The main reason for dividing the sample into two groups is that by dividing migrants and non-migrants we can get a comparison of participation levels, attitudes and knowledge, and therefore can distinguish possible differences or similarities between the groups. This is done by an analysis of youth and migrant responses separately. In the research sample there is an over representation of migrant respondents compared to the actual make up of the migrant population in New Zealand. This is because overrepresentation will allow for a comparative aspect in the research and provide a good opportunity to understand migrant attitudes, knowledge and

[17] For the qualitative aspect of this research, the unstructured interviews gain validity through the five general qualitative guidelines compiled by King, Keohane and Verba (1994). These can be found in the appendix.

behaviour. Similarly, the sample of non-migrant youths can provide information about young New Zealanders that have spent their life in the New Zealand school system. The information collected will also be analysed as a whole, meaning that the information given by both the migrant and non-migrant groups is analysed together to help draw conclusions on the state of political participation of young New Zealanders. By drawing conclusions from essentially three aspects of analysis – migrants, non-migrants and a combination of the two groups – an accurate conclusion can be drawn and useful information can be found about the status of young migrants in New Zealand and the possibility of implementing citizenship education to promote active citizenship.

SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined the methods in which the topics of this thesis have been studied before. After an analysis of these processes and a look at quantitative and qualitative research methods, the method of using a mixed research approach encompassing both quantitative and qualitative aspects is the most appropriate and comprehensive for this research. Surveys provide a good quantitative aspect because they are able to gather information about the trends of political participation of young migrants. The qualitative method of unstructured interviews is designed to strengthen the quantitative results and provide a deeper understanding of the information gathered. The sample will consist of high school students, with an overrepresentation of migrants to New Zealand to enable a more accurate analysis of young migrant political participation.

The research method will help add to the literature on the political participation of young migrants in New Zealand. The following chapter, 'Research Findings and Analysis', presents the information found from the surveys and interviews and is analysed. Finally, in Chapter 6, recommendations will be put forward and a conclusion will be made on the role of citizenship education in New Zealand.

CHAPTER 5 – RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter is an overview of the findings that this research has produced. Each of the four hypotheses are analysed individually using data gained from the surveys and interviews. In undertaking this research, thirty-two completed surveys and four interviews were obtained. Of this amount, eleven surveys and two interviews were completed by young New Zealand migrants. Twenty-one surveys and two interviews were completed by young non-migrant New Zealanders. For reference, the migrant interviewees (M) are Alf and Martha and the non-migrant interviewees (NM) are Geoff and Irene.

From the quantitative and qualitative data results, it will be seen whether any or all of the hypotheses are correct. It is noted that this sample size is relatively small and a larger sample size could produce more definitive findings. However, the data used in this sample produce many interesting findings. This will provide the information in which the best analysis can take place and the implications of the findings can be assessed. The individual analysis of the hypotheses is below.

Do Levels of Political Knowledge Affect Levels of Political Interest?

To test the hypothesis that low levels of political knowledge is causing disinterest among young migrants, a fundamental question has been constructed that, when answered, will establish whether this hypothesis is correct or incorrect. This question is: Do levels of political knowledge affect levels of political interest? Once answered, the effect that political knowledge has on political interest can be evaluated. From this it can be determined whether low levels of political knowledge cause political disinterest. To gain levels of knowledge the results from Section B of the survey, which was a ten question test of basic political knowledge questions, have been used. The results are summarised in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Migrant, Non-Migrant and Combined Political Knowledge Results

	Average Score*
Migrants	3.9
Non-Migrants	5.4
Combined	4.9

*Significant at $P < 0.05$ (two-tailed)

From the results shown in Table 5.1 it appears that migrant political knowledge is less than that of non-migrants. Further analysis of the results from Section B also show that non-

migrants scored higher overall than migrants in nine out of the ten questions. Furthermore, none of the migrant participants scored over six out of the possible ten for the questions; and over half of them only correctly answered two of the ten questions. Comparing these results to levels of interest will help determine whether there is any connection between levels of knowledge and levels of interest.

From Section C of the survey, four of the statements in which the participants had to rate their levels of agreement or disagreement are most relevant when analysing levels of political interest. Using the Likert scale, discussed in Chapter 4, each response given is allocated a numerical value based on the level of favourability that response has in regard to the statement. When analysing a group, all of the responses' numerical values can be added up and then divided by the number of respondents, which gives us the average response of that group. Table 5.2 shows the four relevant questions and the mean response of migrants and non-migrants using the Likert scale.

Table 5.2: Average Likert Scale Results from Political Interest Statements

Statement	Migrant Mean	Non-Migrant Mean	Combined Mean	Difference of Means	T-test Value	df
(1) I am interested in what's going on in politics	2.9	3.71	3.44	-0.81*	-2.36	30
(6) I wish I knew more about how the country is run	3.63	3.48	3.53	0.16	0.45	30
(14) I discuss current events with my friends and/or family	3.45	3.76	3.66	-0.31	-0.73	30
(15) Talking about political issues is boring	2.45	3.23	2.97	-0.78*	-1.81	30

* Significant at $p < 0.05$ (one-tailed)

Table 5.2 shows that Statement 1 and Statement 15 have significant differences between migrants and non-migrants. According to the data, migrants are less interested in what is going on in politics and find talking about politics boring. In fact, the score of 2.45 from migrants concerning talking about politics is one of the lowest scores found in this study. On the other hand, non-migrants appear quite interested in politics and find talking about politics less boring than migrants. These statement results suggest that there is a difference between migrants and non-migrants concerning levels of political interest. Despite Statements 6 and 14 showing no significance between migrants and non-migrants, the results

of Statement 1 and Statement 15 show that it appears there is a difference between the groups.

From this information, it appears that migrants show lower levels of knowledge and possibly show lower levels of interest. However, a closer inspection of the data is needed to examine whether these prima facie results support a connection between levels of political knowledge and levels of political interest. Therefore, the relevant data from Section B and Section C have been analysed to find out if there is any statistical correlation between these variables. The results are below.

Table 5.3: Correlation between Levels of Political Knowledge and Levels of Political Interest

Group	*Correlation*
Migrants	0.345
Non-Migrants	0.690*
Combined	0.633*

* Significant at $P< 0.01$ (two-tailed)

Table 5.3 shows that there is a positive correlation between levels of political knowledge and levels of political interest for non-migrants and the combined group. In fact, the data shows a relatively strong correlation between the two variables. This suggests that for non-migrants and the combined group, knowledge is highly associated with levels of interest.

A closer look at the data shows that no participant that scored lower than five out of ten for the knowledge test had an interest level above four on the Likert scale. Similarly, the top two participants that scored well on the knowledge test were in the top three participants for highest level of interest. Conversely, the participant with the lowest level of knowledge also shared the lowest level of interest. Data such as this helps to understand how the positive correlation between these two variables occurs. Therefore, the quantitative data shows that there is a significant positive correlation between levels of political knowledge and levels of political interest for non-migrants and the combined group.

The qualitative data further highlights the link between political knowledge and political interest. This link is evident in one interview especially where it was asked how important the interviewee thinks politics is:

> Alf (M): ...I don't really see it as top thing.
> Interviewer: Why do you think that is?
> Alf (M): I just find it boring eh, it's like too complicated
> Interviewer: So you don't really understand?
> Alf (M): Nah, not I'm not that keen enough on it eh. I don't know anything about it.

In this conversation, Alf states twice that he is not that interested in politics, stating that it is too complicated and that he does not know anything about it. This shows a clear link between knowledge and interest. Alf is not interested in politics because he feels he does not have the knowledge to understand politics. Martha, another interviewee, believes that knowledge is an important part of why people may not turn out to vote.

> Interviewer: So why do you think it is that young voters seem to turn out less at elections? Any ideas?
> Martha (M): Um, I think a lot of people think politics is too confusing for them to understand.

> Interviewer: ...Why do you think that migrants to New Zealand tend not to vote?
> Martha (M): Um, I guess like maybe a lesser understanding of how New Zealand politics works.

Another interviewee, Irene, talked about how trying to acquire knowledge can turn people off voting. When discussing why she thinks young people might not vote she states:

> Irene (NM): ...I think the effort that you've got to go to, to find out what a party is offering... Like they sort of have to research it to know what you're getting yourself into.

Here, Irene makes the point that people can be disinterested in politics because they have to find out knowledge about politics themselves, which Irene implies is a hassle to many people.

Alternatively, it seems that not just low knowledge appears to result in low levels of interest, but also that high levels of knowledge can lead to high levels of interest. Two interviewees, Geoff and Martha, thought they had a good knowledge of politics and were both interested in politics. When Geoff was asked about whether he thought he knew enough about politics at the moment he replied that he knew "just about enough". Geoff went on to say that at home his family often gets into discussions about politics so he pays more attention. This example suggests that his perceived good level of knowledge has created an interest in discussing politics with his family.

During Martha's interview, she showed high levels of political knowledge and interest. However, Martha's knowledge about politics was mainly knowledge about her home

country, the United States. Martha said that she started learning about politics at about age eleven and at roughly the same time remembers becoming interested by watching the 2000 presidential election in the United States between George Bush and Al Gore. On the topic of New Zealand politics, Martha felt not so sure about how the institutions worked in New Zealand, but was still interested because of her general interest in politics. It could be argued that Martha's interest in politics came from learning about politics early in life. Her enthusiasm for politics can be seen in this part of the interview:

> Interviewer: How important do you think it (politics) is now, at the moment?
> Martha (M): Um, well I'm excited to vote. Like I think it's good to get involved with causes you care about.
> Interviewer: Cool. And you're excited to vote?
> Martha (M): Yeah. Oh Yeah. I just sent in my registration for voting abroad today actually so that was pretty cool. And I'm all enrolled for NZ as well because I've lived here just long enough to (enrol to vote).
> Interviewer: Oh that's cool. So you are going to vote in two elections?
> Martha (M): Yeah. I turned 18 two weeks ago so I'm pretty excited.

The interviews reinforce the link between levels of knowledge and levels of interest, as it was found that people who had low levels of political knowledge were less interested than people with higher levels of political knowledge who were more interested.

Therefore, according to both the quantitative and qualitative data there appears to be a link between political knowledge and political interest. The quantitative data shows that there is a correlation between levels of knowledge and levels of interest. The data suggests that migrants have lower levels of political knowledge and possibly lower levels of interest compared to non-migrants. Interestingly, it was the non-migrant group and the combined group sample that showed a significant positive correlation between levels of political knowledge and political interest. Moreover, the qualitative data shows that the interviewees recognise that knowledge (or rather lack of it) can affect their interest in politics.

Using this information, it appears that an increase in political knowledge would lead to an increase in political interest. The findings that this hypothesis is based upon (Almond and Verba 1963; Jennings 1996; Torney-Purta et al 2001) which state there is a link between education and interest appear to be correct. The results can be summed up nicely by Putnam who states that if people are disinterested in political participation they will be less likely to vote because if people do not know the rules of the game and do not care who wins, they are

unlikely to get involved (Putnam 2000). The findings of this research suggest that an increase in knowledge would be likely to increase levels of interest. Therefore, the hypothesis that low levels of political knowledge is causing disinterest among young migrants appears to be supported.

The question now remains over what significance these results have on citizenship education. Firstly, it must be noted that, generally speaking, levels of political knowledge are low for both migrants and non-migrants. The results from the combined sample show that the average score for the ten question test was below five. Furthermore, only six participants across the study scored higher that six out of ten.

From these low knowledge scores, an argument can be made that the lack of specific citizenship education in the school curriculum could be a factor behind these results. As mentioned in previous chapters, there is no statutory requirement for citizenship education in New Zealand. In 2007, there were changes made to the curriculum that encourage some of the principles behind citizenship education but the onus remains on the individual student to make the connection between what they are learning and their role as a good citizen. Therefore, it appears that the subtle changes that have been made are not working because the results of this research suggest that students are not picking up the information needed to become politically aware. This affects their ability to become better citizens through active political participation. The lack of explicit teaching of citizenship styled education appears to have resulted in low levels of political knowledge, which affects the ability of young New Zealanders to develop the depth of understanding needed to become active citizens and turn out to vote.

If we strive for Barber's (1984) 'strong democracy' and an Aristotlean approach for active citizen participation, having low voter turnout levels will not achieve these goals. Furthermore, as Franklin (2004) and Vowles (2004) point out, not voting can build bad habits for later life. If nothing is done, the low voter turnout will continue and citizens, young and old, will have low knowledge and interest which will continue to erode New Zealand's democratic practices. If people are not voting, they are not contributing to an aspect of New Zealand's democratic system that lets citizens have an equal opportunity to have their say (Tomasi 1985; Verba et al 1993; Putnam 2000).

A method of dealing with this problem could be to introduce an explicit education strategy to teach the necessary and crucial aspects of citizenship and politics to strengthen the democratic health of New Zealand. If learning outcomes were to be closely defined it is likely

that the achievement of those outcomes could be assessed and quantified (Ross 2002). The achievement could be seen in levels of voter turnout.

Of great interest to this study is the result concerning the strong correlation between levels of political knowledge and interest for the non-migrant and combined sample groups. This correlation supports the result of the IEA study, which stated that those with most civic knowledge were more interested in participating in civic activities, and supports Almond and Verba's (1963) finding that the more educated person is more likely to follow politics. The reason why this finding is important to this study is because it gives a strong justification for why education could, at the least, make people more interested in politics. This means that this result supports the idea of implementing an education scheme to produce the higher levels of knowledge. Although the results were not as significant for migrants, it does show that education could not only be beneficial for young migrants, but could also be beneficial for young non-migrant citizens.

If citizens are more knowledgeable and more interested in the political sphere it is likely that active political participation will increase with it. Because voting is a relatively simple form of political participation, a positive impact should be seen at the voting booths, which should stop the declining voter turnout figures, especially those of young New Zealanders.

Do Levels of Political Relevance Affect Levels of Political Interest?

In order to test the hypothesis that disinterest is due to the perceived irrelevance of politics for young migrants, a key question has been constructed that will help to understand the data and draw a conclusion on whether this hypothesis is supported. This question is: Do levels of political relevance affect levels of political interest?

The general opinion of the interviewees was that their youth can hinder their view of feeling politically relevant, either due to their own fault or because of external factors. For example, when Alf was asked whether he would like to know more about politics he responded:

> Alf (M): Not yet eh... Probably not old enough.
> Interviewer: So why do you think that young voters do have a lower turnout at election time?
> Alf (M): Probably they don't care.
> Interviewer: They don't care?

> Alf (M): Yeah probably because they have better things to do. Not really giving up their time just to... I don't know how to say it... a waste of time.

Here, Alf is implying that young people have better things to do than think about politics and it is not until young people get older when it becomes more important. When asked about whether Alf thought it mattered to society who wins an election, he responded:

> Alf (M): Probably cos like... Probably I think the old people. At the moment we are living off our parents at the moment so it'll affect them. They'll probably complain about tax and stuff like that but that doesn't really affect us young people.

From this quote, it is clear that Alf thinks politics is not yet relevant to him. Alf thinks who wins an election is important to "old people" because of the focus on issues such as tax, whereas he is living off his parents so tax issues are not important to him. Martha thinks similarly and also mentions the issue of tax as not being relevant to someone her age:

> Interviewer: Do you think that politicians make decisions with people like you in mind?
> Martha (M): ... Um, probably not. Probably not in particular.
> Interviewer: How come?
> Martha (M): Um, well I'm not necessarily a big taxpayer right. It's not my money being spent so much.

The issue of tax appears to be an important factor in young people feeling like politics is not relevant to them. This comment from Martha also shows that she does not think that politicians make decisions with people like her in mind. In fact, several interviewees thought that their age was the reason they were not more interested in politics because they felt they were too young to be relevant to decision makers. Irene is another who thinks that people her age are not targeted by politicians:

> Interviewer: So you feel perhaps that the political parties don't make a good enough effort to be able to tell you what their views are?
> Irene (NM): Yeah, because they are really aiming at older people at the moment.

A final reason for why politics may not be relevant to young people is described by both Alf and Geoff. This reason is based on the lack of experience of young people. Both imply that they have not personally experienced the effect politics has had on their lives:

Alf (M): So, um, at the moment nothing is really affecting us at the moment, but when we get older things will start to affect us.

Geoff (NM): I think we've never really had any problems. Like we haven't had to deal with any wars or anything like that... Haven't experienced it.

From these opinions it can be argued that young people can feel that politics is irrelevant. Issues for young people, such as other interests, tax and lack of experience, all contribute to a feeling of political irrelevance, which is expressed through an opinion that politicians do not seem to focus on young people.

However, it must be noted that all of the interviewees recognise the importance politics has, citing reasons such as the importance of an organised society, the importance of expressing opinions, the need for someone or something to look after our best interests and even stating that "politics is basically what makes the world go round." Because of this, it appears that young people recognise politics an integral part of society but feel that politics is not something they need to think about at their current stage in life. Once they start paying more tax, for example, it is then when politics becomes more relevant. The lack of relevance of politics seems applicable to all interviewees and not specific to either migrants or non-migrants.

To compare these qualitative results with the results from the Section C statements used to measure interest, it can be examined whether there is any link between feelings of political relevance and levels of political interest. The statements and results are listed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Average Likert Scale Results from Political Interest and Political Relevance Statements

Statement	Migrant Mean	Non-Migrant Mean	Combined Mean	Difference of Means	T-test Value	df
(1) I am interested in what's going on in politics	2.9	3.71	3.44	-0.81*	-2.36	30
(6) I wish I knew more about how the country is run	3.63	3.48	3.53	0.16	0.45	30
(14) I discuss current events with my friends and/or family	3.45	3.76	3.66	-0.31	-0.73	30
(15) Talking about political issues is boring	2.45	3.23	2.97	-0.78*	-1.81	30
(9) Politicians are good representatives of who I am	3	2.28	2.53	0.71*	2.05	30

* Significant at $p < 0.05$ (one-tailed)

The quantitative data shows that in two instances migrant levels of interest are lower than that of non-migrants, as discussed in the previous section. Statement 1 and Statement 15 show that migrants have less interest than non-migrants in their respective statement topics. However, the qualitative data concerning political relevance shows no major difference between migrant and non-migrant attitudes and opinions about political relevance. Both migrants and non-migrants appear to feel that politics can feel irrelevant to them. Therefore, there does not appear to be a clear link between these two variables and it is unclear whether levels of relevance correspond directly to either migrants or non-migrants' levels of political interest.

An interesting result that must not be overlooked concerns Statement 9. The statement 'Politicians are good representatives of who I am' is not regarded as a statement to measure interest, but to measure a level of political relevance. This measures an individual's political relevance by determining whether politicians appear relevant to individuals through how they are being represented. The general feeling is that people feel that politicians do not represent them well, with a combined score of 2.53. Interestingly, it is non-migrants who feel very strongly about this. In fact, the score of 2.28 from non-migrants regarding this question is the lowest score of any statement from Section C of the survey. This result supports the argument that is put forward from the qualitative data, which is that one of the reasons young people may feel that politics is not relevant is because they think that they are too young to influence decision makers, or that decision makers do not think about young peoples' interests.

This result brings an interesting aspect to this research, as Statement 1 and Statement 15 suggest that migrants are less interested than non-migrants, but Statement 9 suggests that migrants are less pessimistic of politicians compared to non-migrants. This may show that migrants find politicians more relevant to them personally compared to non-migrants. One possible explanation for this result is that because migrants are less interested in what is going on in politics, they may be less critical of politicians. While it cannot be concluded that this is the case, it is merely a suggestion that may warrant further research.

It is apparent that young people feel that politics can feel irrelevant to them personally, but they can see the importance and relevance of politics for society as a whole and for older cohorts. Whether there is a link between levels of political relevance and levels of political interest is unclear, but this research finds little consistency between the variables. Furthermore, the results show that there is little difference between migrants and non-migrants concerning interest and relevance, supporting the previous hypothesis' conclusion

that perhaps this research is applicable to all young New Zealanders, not just young migrant New Zealanders. Consequently, the hypothesis that disinterest is due to the perceived irrelevance of politics for young migrants is not supported in this case, however, there are some important findings that are of significance concerning the wider issue of education that have been found while analysing the data.

From the qualitative data two reasons have been suggested regarding the issue of why young New Zealanders might feel that politics is irrelevant. The first reason is that young New Zealanders feel that most political issues do not greatly affect them. The most convincing results of this are found in the interviews, where several interviewees state that politics is more for older people. The reason politics is more for older people is put down to two main reasons. Firstly, the focus on issues such as tax (as most young New Zealanders are not too concerned with tax levels because they do not earn or spend much money), and secondly, that young New Zealanders feel they have had little experience of politics affecting their lives. Interviewee's pointed out that politics does not really affect young people at the moment and one interviewee stated that he and his cohorts have never experienced any major problems, such as war.

The second reason why young New Zealanders can find politics irrelevant is because they feel politicians do not make decisions with people like them in mind and do not represent them well. Several of the interviewees stated that because of the focus on certain issues, such as tax, politicians were not aiming their thoughts at young people. When asked whether the interviewees thought politicians made decisions with people like them in mind, many responded with answers stating that the focus was on older people or society as a whole, rather than the focus being on people like them. Furthermore, the statement from Section C 'Politicians are good representatives of who I am' got a generally negative response, especially from non-migrant New Zealanders. If young New Zealanders think that politicians do not portray their ideas well or represent them well, it is easy to see why they would not want to turn up and vote for them at election time.

These results could help explain why youth voter turnout is lower than that of the rest of the population. There appears to be a feeling of disengagement from political issues and politicians for young New Zealanders. If young New Zealanders feel that political issues are irrelevant and feel distant from politicians, it is understandable why this group does not turn out to vote as much as the rest of New Zealand.

There are also other negative consequences that feelings of political irrelevance can have on the democratic health of New Zealand. For example, if people find politics irrelevant they are less likely to question elected representatives and engage in public discourse, which are two of the virtues that good citizenship entails, according to Kymlicka (2002). Furthermore, they will be less likely to see that good citizenship involves civic engagement, which is the basis of the Aristotlean style citizenship that should be strived for. This means that levels of good citizenship will not increase and consequently active citizenship will not increase either.

If people grow up with the view that politics is irrelevant, the ultimate effect is that of a weakened democracy because, those people will not exercise their right to vote based on that feeling of perceived irrelevance. As mentioned previously, the effect of low voter turnout leads to lower levels of legitimacy, builds bad habits and will not achieve a healthy democracy (Almond and Verba 1963; Vowles et al 2004).

Political issues are relevant to all voters, albeit some issues are more important to some people than others. Therefore, to counter this feeling of political irrelevance that young New Zealanders have, a strategy to educate young New Zealanders in the ways politics and civic life can affect young people could be an appropriate method for trying to increase voter turnout. Whilst the results concerning interest and relevance were unclear, increasing levels of relevance could provide higher voter turnout because it is likely that people would feel more connected to the issues on which they can vote upon. If education is the method for increasing political relevance, it is the aspects of promoting democracy, participation and active citizenship that are most likely to have a positive effect on levels of relevance. It is citizenship education, rather than civic education, that will be needed, in accordance with the education literature (Torney-Purta and Schwille 1986; Putnam 2000; Traue 2006).

Do Levels of Social Capital Affect Active Political Participation?

To test whether the hypothesis that increasing levels of social capital will increase active political participation of young migrants is correct, it must be established whether social capital has any affect on political participation. To achieve this, the participants' levels of social capital will be tested and compared with levels of knowledge and interest.

The data being used to gauge participants' levels of social capital is from Section A of the survey. From the analysis of this data, every participant's level of social activity concerning religion, social groups, sports teams and cultural groups has been determined. The

level of social activity is measured by a closely estimated figure showing how many times the participants are likely to be involved in relevant activities in any given week. This level of activity is used to determine each participant's level of social capital. These figures are then compared to levels of political knowledge, once again determined by the results of Section B of the survey, and levels of interest, once again measured by statements from Section C of the survey. The results are below.

Social Capital and Knowledge

To help determine whether social capital can increase active political participation, the level of activity of the participants will be measured against levels of political knowledge. By doing this, it can be established whether there is any correlation between people's level of social activity and level of political knowledge. A positive correlation would support the idea that greater social capital can lead to higher levels of political knowledge and vice versa. The results from the data showing levels of correlation between these two variables are shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Correlation between Levels of Social Activity and Levels of Political Knowledge

Group	*Correlation*
Migrants	0.313
Non-Migrants	-0.239
Combined	-0.098

The results shown in Table 5.5 show that there is no consistent relationship between the variables of social activity and political knowledge. The correlation figures shown in the table are not significant enough to draw any conclusion about the relationship between social activity and levels of political knowledge for any of the three sample groups. Therefore, from these results, the effect that social capital has on political participation cannot be understood from analysing the data concerning political knowledge.

Social Capital and Interest

The second variable to be tested against social activity is levels of political interest. By testing whether there is any correlation between levels of social activity and political interest it can be seen whether these two variables are correlated, helping us determine a

conclusion on the affect of social capital on political participation. Table 5.6 shows the level of correlation between the variables social activity and political interest as gathered from the data.

Table 5.6: Correlation between Levels of Social Activity and Levels of Political Interest

Group	*Correlation*
Migrants	-0.020
Non-Migrants	-0.188
Combined	-0.163

Similar to the previous result, Table 5.6 does not show any significant results in which any conclusions can be made. Despite all three sample groups showing a small negative correlation, the figures are not strong enough to be significant and consequently cannot be held as accurate results. Because of this, the relationship between levels of social activity and levels of political interest is still unknown. Therefore, in this respect, no conclusions can be made concerning whether social capital is likely to increase active political participation.

Discussion of the Results Concerning Social Activity, Knowledge and Interest

As neither of the variables that were tested show any correlation with levels of social activity, it must be understood why this occurred. The data showed that the relationships between social activity and political knowledge, and social activity and political interest, were non-existent. There are several reasons why this might be the case.

Firstly, it has to be acknowledged that perhaps there simply is no relationship at all between the variables tested. In this case, the figures showed no consistency or significance because it is possible that there is nothing consistent or significant to find. While this would provide a simple explanation for the findings, it is suggested that this is not the reason for the results.

A more likely explanation for the results could be put down to methodological issues. The first of these issues is the sample size. The sample size of thirty two participants, consisting of twenty one for migrants and eleven for non-migrants is very small to draw quantitative data from. Therefore, when using a small sample to do such tests it is very possible that no correlations are found because there are not enough test cases to draw distinct conclusions from. In a small sample size, ‘radical’ answers have a bigger effect on

the data than they would in a bigger sample. The issue of having a small sample size is a likely factor for seeing the lack of significant data from the social capital tests.

Another possible reason for seeing no significant statistical result could be due to the operationalisation of the variables. This refers to the method in which the data is measured. If the data was measured in a different way, it is possible that different results could be seen. For example, using social activity as a simple test of a person's social capital level may be a factor for seeing the lack of significant data. If another method was used to gain a participant's social capital level and was tested against political knowledge and political interest, different results may be found. Because of the results that this research has produced concerning social capital, it is suggested that using social activity as a method for measuring social capital data may not be as accurate as first thought.

A final possible reason for the statistically insignificant data could be theoretical. Theoretical issues may include the arguments of Norris (2002) and Dalton (2006), who argue that traditional social capital measurements are not helpful because citizens are now participating in the political sphere in new forms. Another possibility may be an argument along the lines of Franklin (2004) who argues that participation is a generational issue and the fact that young people are the focus of this research may provide the inconsistent data concerning levels of activity and participation.

These reasons may provide insight into why the data concerning social capital relationships with political knowledge and political interest showed little consistency or significance. Further research in this area would help determine more significant findings.

Further Analysis on Social Capital

Section C of the survey distributed to participants included some statements concerning their opinions on ideas surrounding social capital. These statements are aimed at drawing data on participants' opinions about the climate for increasing social capital. Based on these opinions, it can be evaluated how successful a possible increase in social capital would be. This is important because when implementing public policy, such as the possible implementation of programs to increase social capital, the environment in which the policy is implemented can determine whether it will be successful or not. The relevant statements and results are in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Average Likert Scale Results from Social Capital Statements

Statement	Migrant Mean	Non-Migrant Mean	Combined Mean	Difference of Means	T-test Value	df
(4) I prefer to get involved in my community, rather than getting involved in national issues	37.3**	48.6**	40.6**	-	-	-
(16) It is important to mix with all types of people in society	4.36	3.62	3.88	0.74*	2.2	29.9
(20) Do you think that the people you associate with persuade your views?	3.27	3.67	3.53	-0.39	-0.87	30

* Significant at $p < 0.05$ (one-tailed)

** Due to the nature of the statement, the figure given is the percentage of positive responses because there is no favourable or unfavourable response to this statement in which to determine a Likert scale figure.

Table 5.7 provides some interesting data concerning the environment for increasing social capital. Statement 16 suggests that migrants are a lot more open-minded about ideas such as multiculturalism compared to non-migrants, as migrants consider that it is more important than non-migrants to mix with all types of people in society. High levels of wanting to mix with all people in society would provide a good environment for social capital to flourish. The data suggests that migrants are more willing to mix with others than non-migrants. This result may imply that 'bonding' social capital could occur, as the data suggests that the existing identities already present may be reinforced.

An interesting piece of data comes from Statement 4 which shows that just over 40 percent of participants would prefer to get involved in their community, rather than the 28.2 percent that would prefer to get involved in national issues. This is a positive result concerning the issue of social capital because it shows that community spirit is present, which is an essential part of Putnam's belief in raising social capital. However, because this statement was not able to be analysed using the Likert scale like the other Section C responses, the significance of this result is not known.

Discussion of the Social Capital Results

When testing the hypothesis that increasing social capital will increase active political participation of young migrants, the results are inconclusive and the effect that political knowledge and political interest have on social capital is unknown. When testing people's level of activity and comparing it to their levels of political knowledge and political interest,

the data showed no trend or consistency between the variables. Further analysis of young New Zealanders' social capital and the effects of social capital is needed in order to determine definite conclusions.

Using this information, it cannot be concluded that Putnam's (2000) argument that group membership has a positive effect on active political participation is correct. Furthermore, it cannot be concluded whether the argument of Donovan et al (2004) or McVey and Vowles (2005) is more likely to be correct regarding New Zealand.

Despite the inconclusive results concerning whether social capital will increase voter turnout, social capital could play another role in the quest for active citizenship. If citizenship is looked at in terms outside of active political participation, social capital could provide the opportunity to increase people's citizenship levels by promoting bridging social capital. As discussed in Chapter 2, Kymlicka (2002) argues that civility (the ability to live in a civil society with all people, where everyone is accepting of all types of people and opinions) is a virtue of good citizenship. Added to this, the literature concerning migrant citizenship put forward by Tomasi (1985), Safran (1997), and Smolicz (1997) argues that incorporation, inclusion and acceptance are needed to ensure good migrant citizenship standards are upheld. With these ideas in mind, increased social capital could play a role in increasing citizens' civility by becoming more accepting of others in society. According to Putnam (2002), bridging social capital means people from across societal cleavages can build levels of reciprocity, trustworthiness and acceptance.

Supporting this argument are the findings from Statement 16. This data suggests that migrants are more willing to mix with others in society compared to non-migrants. Therefore, using this information, the case for increasing social capital could be strongly argued. The data suggests that currently non-migrants appear to be more parochial, more insular and less open to the concept of multiculturalism. Increasing social capital could help non-migrants become more open to the concept of the modern multicultural New Zealand, as described in Chapter 3. The method for increasing social capital in order to gain these benefits could be achieved through education. If so, it appears that education is needed for young non-migrants as much as it is needed for young migrants.

Therefore, social capital could play a role in increasing people's citizenship levels in ways that do not directly concern voter turnout, but rather levels of acceptance and inclusion of all people in society.

The Effect of Citizenship Education

The hypothesis that citizenship education will increase knowledge, political sophistication and socialisation, producing more active citizens, leading to higher voter turnout of young migrants is different to the previous hypotheses because of the way the wording is framed. Without actually being able to implement citizenship education upon a group of people and then analyse its successes and failures, this hypothesis is based on an assumption taken from theory. That is, the word 'will' infers that this hypothesis is testing something that has not happened yet, but, as uncertain as it may be to try and answer something in the future, this hypothesis can still be tested in order to establish whether it is likely that citizenship education will have the effect the hypothesis claims it can. This hypothesis will be tested by answering two questions. These questions are:

a) Is there a need for citizenship education?
b) If so, would education lead to higher levels of political sophistication and socialisation, increasing voter turnout?

a) Is There a Need for Citizenship Education?

Determining whether there is a need for citizenship education can be analysed using two areas of data. These areas are levels of political knowledge and understanding the opinions and attitudes of young New Zealanders, especially young migrants. By looking at these two parts of the data, the question of whether citizenship education is needed shall become clear.

Table 5.8: Migrant, Non-Migrant and Combined Political Knowledge Results

	Average Score*
Migrants	3.9
Non-Migrants	5.2
Combined	4.9

*Significant at $P< 0.05$ (two-tailed)

The results shown in Table 5.8 are the results of Section B of the survey, which was a multi-choice test of ten basic political knowledge questions. As the table shows, these figures are quite low. Whilst non-migrants were able to answer roughly half of the questions correctly, the migrant results show an even lower knowledge. Table 5.9 shows a closer look at the results of the Section B questions.

Table 5.9: Section B Political Knowledge Results of all Participants

Question	% Answered Correctly
1. How often are General Elections held in New Zealand?	53
2. Who is the Head of State in New Zealand?	34
3. What does MMP stand for?	44
4. How many seats are currently allocated to represent Maori electorates in parliament?	31
5. What percentage threshold of party votes does a party need to gain seats in parliament for their list candidates?	50
6. Which best describes a parliamentary 'bill'?	66
7. Under MMP every voter has two votes. Who are these votes for?	59
8. Who can vote in a General Election in New Zealand?	81
9. How many political parties are currently represented in parliament?	0.03
10. Who is currently New Zealand's Deputy Prime Minister?	69

From the information contained in this table, it is apparent that there is a basic lack of important political knowledge shown by young people. Some of the most alarming results show that: only one-third of participants know who New Zealand's Head of State is; less than half of participants know what MMP stands for; less than a third of participants know how many seats are allocated to represent Maori electorates; and nearly everybody could not answer correctly how many political parties there are in parliament. Further analysis into the Section B data shows that less than one-fifth got over six out of ten answers correct and only one participant got all of the ten questions correct.

These results show that many, if not most, of the participants are lacking in several areas of basic New Zealand political knowledge. Therefore, using this data, there does appear to be a need for education in order to increase these statistics.

Results from Section C also show that political knowledge is lacking in young New Zealanders. Table 5.10 shows the results from Section C statements regarding feelings towards political knowledge.

Table 5.10: Average Likert Scale Results from Political Knowledge Statements

Statement	Migrant Mean	Non-Migrant Mean	Combined Mean	Difference of Means	T-test Value	df
(2) Politics is too difficult for me to understand	2.54	3	2.84	-0.45	-1.29	30
(5) I feel educated enough in politics to feel confident about whom I vote for	2.81	3.8	3.47	-0.99*	-2.24	14.66
(6) I wish I knew more about how the country is run	3.63	3.48	3.53	0.16	0.45	30
(11) I understand why the government make the decisions they do	3.36	3.2	3.16	0.16	0.43	29
(17) Does your school teach you about politics?	3.3	3.24	3.16	0.06	0.134	30
(18) I think it is hard to understand how MMP works	2.72	2.71	2.72	0.01	0.03	30

* Significant at $p < 0.05$ (one-tailed)

Table 5.10 shows that Statement 5 is significant regarding whether participants feel they are educated enough in politics to feel confident about whom to vote for. The data suggests that migrants do not feel as educated or confident as non-migrants about whom to vote for at election time. There appears to be a clear gap between the feelings of migrants and non-migrants concerning the amount of knowledge they feel is needed to feel confident about participating in voting. Therefore, it could be argued that migrants are in need of more education in order for them to feel more confident about whom they vote for. Voting is a relatively easy way for people to participate in the political sphere so people should be able to feel confident about participating.

One migrant, Alf, could provide some insight into why migrants might be less confident at voting time. Alf states that a possible reason for migrants not participating as much in politics as the rest of New Zealand could be because of language issues. When commenting about migrants gathering political information he states:

> Alf (M): The advertisements for them at the moment, they're in English which isn't their first language, so they're not very good.

Therefore, a possible reason for some migrants not feeling educated enough to feel confident about who to vote for could be because they cannot understand the information that is being presented to them due to language difficulties.

The finding that migrants feel less confident about whom to vote for provides an important piece of data that gives justification for a method to increase migrant political knowledge, confidence in the political sphere and active political participation.

The qualitative data also suggests that there are feelings of low political knowledge. The issue of politics and MMP being too difficult to understand is mentioned in the interviews. This appears relevant to both migrants and non-migrants. However, the migrant interviewees show the most difficulty with understanding New Zealand politics and MMP. For example:

> Interviewer: You mentioned that you found the MMP system a bit difficult to understand. Do you think that's the general thoughts of a lot of people?
>
> Martha (M): Yeah... I think it's one of those things that, yeah, it's not well understood. You hear it mentioned on the radio or whatever but it's like, oh yeah that's the political system... right.

> Martha (M): I don't understand how parties are allocated seats though, even if they are represented. That doesn't make sense to me.

> Alf (M): When I watch stuff on the news about seats and stuff I'm like 'What's that?'

However, this difficulty is apparent for non-migrants as well. For example, Irene states that she does not really understand how New Zealand politics works and does not know much past knowing the Prime Minster and the parties. When Geoff was asked whether he understood how parliament works he replied "not really". These responses show that levels of knowledge are not at an acceptable level for fostering active political participation. Like the quantitative data, the qualitative data shows that there is much room for improvement with regard to levels of youth political knowledge.

Interestingly, the quantitative data showed that despite non-migrants scoring higher than migrants in the knowledge test, non-migrants still had low levels of knowledge. However, in Statement 5, the data shows a high level of feeling knowledgeable enough to feel confident about whom to vote for. When asked about their feelings about political knowledge in the interviews, both non-migrant interviewees stated that they did not really understand how the New Zealand political system worked. What this data could mean is that young non-migrant New Zealanders have a perceived high level of knowledge, but in fact their knowledge levels are below their perception. Again, these findings are good justification

for a method to increase knowledge, such as citizenship education. The question now remains over whether education will lead to higher levels of political sophistication and socialisation.

b) Would education lead to higher levels of political sophistication and socialisation, increasing voter turnout?

It has been established that there is a need for greater education for young New Zealanders surrounding political knowledge. However, an important part in the analysis of whether to implement an aspect of education into a school curriculum is to be confident that it is likely to achieve its goal. The goal for implementing citizenship education into the New Zealand school curriculum is to increase young people's political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation, and consequently have a positive effect on voter turnout levels. Therefore, it must be determined whether education would be effective in this respect, despite now knowing that there is a need for it.

As mentioned earlier, this hypothesis is testing something that is not currently in place. Therefore, to answer this question, we must look to the theory and combine it with the data analysis. It is accepted that Almond and Verba (1963) contend that the more educated person is more likely to follow politics and participate, and according to Torney-Purta et al (2001) it is students who have the most civic knowledge that are most likely to be open to participate in civic activities. Therefore, the theory argues that the more civic knowledge a person has, the more interested they are in becoming an active citizen. The results of this thesis' research shows that there is quite a strong link between levels of political knowledge and levels of political interest, suggesting that if Almond and Verba (1963) and Torney-Purta et al (2001) are correct, an increase in active political participation should be seen with an increase in education. After all, the results from Section B of the survey show that there is room for improvement regarding levels of political knowledge for young New Zealanders. As voting is seen as one of the easiest ways of participating in the political sphere, it is likely that the increase in active political participation will flow on to the voting booths.

As mentioned in previous chapters many theorists, such as Torney-Purta (1986; 2001), Smolicz (1997), Putnam (2000), Dudley and Gitelson (2003), and Dalton (2006), recognise the importance of high levels of political knowledge from which they identify education as an important tool in developing this knowledge. From the widespread theoretical support for the development of knowledge and the data gathered from this research, such as finding that young people's political knowledge is low, it appears that an increase in levels of

knowledge for young New Zealanders should lead to an increase in political sophistication and socialisation, which will make them more likely to participate in civic activities, such as voting.

Therefore, the results show that there is a need for further education surrounding issues of political knowledge. These results, when analysed with theory, show that it is likely that citizenship education will increase knowledge, political sophistication and socialisation, producing more active citizens, leading to higher voter turnout. Therefore, the hypothesis that citizenship education will increase knowledge, political sophistication and socialisation, producing more active citizens, leading to higher voter turnout of young migrants is likely to be correct. In fact, from the previous analysis, it is also likely to lead to higher levels of voter turnout for non-migrants.

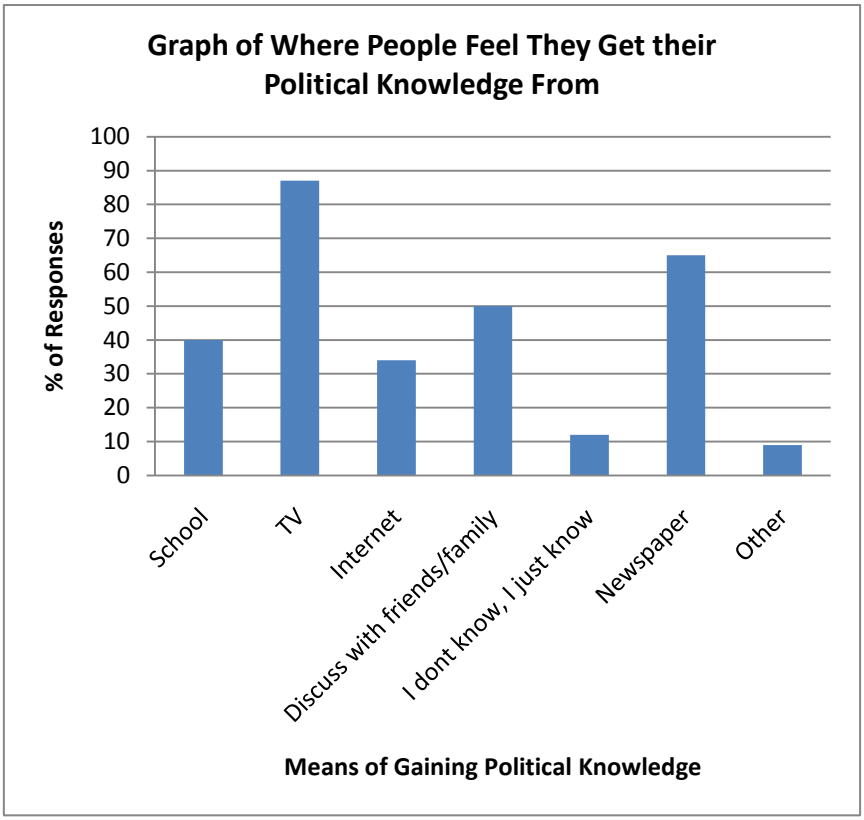
FURTHER FINDINGS

Where Do Young Migrants Get their Political Knowledge From?

Section D of the survey was aimed at gathering information about where participants get their knowledge about politics from. When asked the question, 'Have you ever been taught about politics at school?' only seven people responded that they had not learnt about politics at school. Twenty participants responded that they had learnt about politics at school 'A bit', and five participants responded with 'Yes'. When asked at what stage people had learnt about politics school, responses ranged from off-topic class discussion, to junior level social studies, to senior level history and economics, to learning about politics at school in another country.

Graph 5.1 shows the means in which people feel they gain their knowledge from.

Graph 5.1:



This graph shows that the most common way the respondents gain their political knowledge is from television, with 87 percent of respondents choosing this option. The next most common means for gaining political knowledge is newspapers, with 65 percent. These results show that it is the media outlets that are teaching the population the most about politics. Less than half of the respondents (40 percent) identified school as the means for gaining political knowledge, with television, newspapers, and discussions being more common.

Therefore, whilst young New Zealanders feel they learn a little about politics at school, it is not proving to be the most productive means for increasing their political knowledge. The results shown in Graph 5.1 in conjunction with the finding that only five people felt their school had taught them about politics shows that there is definitely room for schools to play a larger part in increasing the knowledge of young New Zealanders if they are willing, or made, to.

Attitudes On Voting

As the focus of this research paper concerns increasing active citizenship, which for the purpose of this research is defined as voter turnout, the results concerning young New Zealanders' attitudes to voting are of great importance.

Section C of the survey included four statements to gather information about general attitudes to voting. The results are shown in Table 5.11, below.

Table 5.11: Average Likert Scale Results from Statements Concerning Attitudes to Voting

Statement	Migrant Mean	Non-Migrant Mean	Combined Mean	Difference of Means	T-test Value	df
(3) My vote makes a difference in elections	3.9	3.62	3.72	0.29	0.84	30
(7) Because I live in New Zealand it is my duty to vote at election time	3.9	3.48	3.63	0.43	1.20	30
(8) My vote represents my interests	3.72	4	3.9	-0.27	-1.0	30
(10) I can make a difference to government policy, other than by voting	3	3.05	3.03	-0.05	-0.15	30

The results shown in Table 5.11 do not have high levels of significance concerning the difference between migrant and non-migrant attitudes towards voting. To draw conclusions on this data would be unwise, but despite these results not showing high levels of significance, the data can be used to provide some insight. For example, Statement 8 has a significance of $p< 0.16$. While this figure could have a stronger level of significance, the mean figures show a strong positive response for both migrants and non-migrants concerning their vote representing their interests. Because of the strength of these figures, it can be assumed that it is likely that young New Zealanders feel this way.

Similarly, the results from Statement 10 show a consistent feeling of neutrality by migrants and non-migrants concerning their opinion on whether they can make a difference to government policy, other than by voting. Again, a solid conclusion on this result cannot be made, but this data may imply that young New Zealanders do not see an opportunity for expressing their views outside of elections. Such a result would support the findings from the IEA study, where it was found that aside from voting, students were sceptical about other forms of participation. Interestingly, Almond and Verba (1963) argue that, "The more educated individual is more likely to consider himself capable of influencing government"

(1963, p.381). Further research on this topic is needed to be able to draw any definite conclusions.

To ensure positive feelings about voting for young New Zealanders, the most widespread and effective way to inform young people would be through the education system. The key to teaching this effectively is to incorporate not only civic education, but also education about democracy, democratic participation and good citizenship. This type of education is the citizenship education that Torney-Purta and Schwille (1985), Putnam (2000), and Traue (2006) argue is needed. If people understand the importance of participation in a democratic society and know how to participate, it is likely that this will help strengthen democracy in New Zealand. Furthermore, if young migrants feel satisfied with their vote it shows that New Zealand has successfully incorporated migrants into this aspect of the political sphere, as Tomasi (1985), Safran (1997), and Smolicz (1997) argue is important.

Attitudes on Education

The possible solutions to many of the issues that have been discussed involve the implementation of an education scheme. Therefore, an important piece of analysis is young people's attitudes on education.

From the data, it was found that students feel they learn 'a bit' about politics at school. It was found that the most common ways for young New Zealanders to gain political knowledge was from television and newspapers, meaning that it is the media teaching young New Zealanders about politics, rather than schools. Only 40 percent of people thought that they learnt about politics at school. Of those who stated that they had been taught about politics at school, many listed very different ways of how they were taught, from different subjects to off-topic discussions. These results show that there is room for schools to have a larger impact in teaching politics. Schools could provide a trusted source for learning about politics rather than television and newspapers for young New Zealanders, because an education syllabus is regulated and only the important and necessary aspects would be taught.

In all of the interviews it was asked whether the interviewees would be interested in learning more about politics at school. Most of the interviewees stated that they would want to learn more at school about politics and one interviewee stated that they would not want to learn more but thought they probably should. Some examples from the interviews are below:

> Interviewer: Do you think that you'd maybe want to learn about politics in school?
> Geoff (NM): It could be good to learn what goes on

Interviewer: Do you think it would be a good idea if schools teach this sort of stuff?
Geoff (NM): I think it's pretty relevant. It would be quite a good idea

Interviewer: Would you be interested in learning more about politics in school?
Martha (M): Yeah yeah. Um, I think that they should teach how government works... like processes, how bills become laws... we learned a lot about that in the (United) States in terms of judicial, executive, legislative branches and how there are all like checks and balances... I think it is really beneficial to have an informed voter population

Furthermore, several of the interviewees stated where they would expect to see some sort of education about politics. Alf, Martha and Irene all spoke about how they would expect this type of education to be incorporated into social studies or the social sciences. This fits in well with the information gathered from the current social studies curriculum and the ideas behind the Crick Report, discussed in Chapter 3.

Only two of the interviewees mentioned their previous experience with politics styled education at school. Martha mentions it in reference to her time living in the United States. She states that she started learning about politics, government and current events in her seventh grade, which is roughly the equivalent of Year 8 in New Zealand. Irene stated that she learned about politics in Year 8 but claims she does not remember much.

These results show several key aspects that must be addressed. Firstly, that most young New Zealanders are learning their political knowledge from television and newspapers shows a current missed opportunity for young New Zealanders to gain a quality education about politics and civic life. Young New Zealanders are reliant on the media to inform them about such things, but surely a regulated and impartial method for teaching young citizens would be preferred and more effective in teaching the key aspects of politics and good citizenship. The fact that this current accessible education is media based is of concern in that it is non-participatory; the information flow is only one way, there is no interaction, debate or sharing of ideas and the media is often inaccessible to the common citizen. Whereas imparting information in the classroom encompasses the basics of democracy; participation, debate, sharing and inclusion. That only 40 percent of people felt they had learned about politics at school once again shows that the 2007 education changes have not worked because they have been too subtle for students to pick up on. Therefore, if increased political knowledge and better citizenship standards are sought and education is the most likely way to do this, a change must take place in the national school syllabus.

Similarly, if people are willing to learn more, this should be encouraged through the education system. Because there is currently no statutory requirement for such an education, the wants and needs of young New Zealanders are not being met.

If increased voter turnout is the ultimate goal, there must be a strategy or institution that will enable this to happen. As mentioned, increasing knowledge and interest is likely to increase voter turnout. Using this information with the result that there is room for schools to better educate young New Zealanders about politics and civic life, education is a possible strategy that could help prevent New Zealand's waning electoral turnout.

Migrant Social Inclusion

One interesting result from Section C that is worth mentioning is the findings from Statement 19. The results for this statement are in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12: Likert Scale Result from Statement 19

Statement	Migrant Mean	Non-Migrant Mean	Combined Mean	Difference of Means	T-test Value	df
(19) Do you consider yourself a New Zealander?	2.63	4.9	4.13	-2.27*	-5.767	10.6

* Significant at $p < 0.05$ (one-tailed)

This result is interesting because it appears that migrants do not feel that they are New Zealanders. This may also mean that migrants feel that they are not part of the country in the same way that non-migrant New Zealanders are. Without knowing more information about this finding, the interpretation of this finding could be varied. One possible explanation for this result is that young migrants in New Zealand have not spent much time in the country and, because of this, still have strong links to their previous home. If this is the case, the more time migrants spend in New Zealand may result in a change of feelings and, consequently, migrants may feel more like New Zealanders.

Although feelings of migrant citizenship and nationality are important aspects of this research, it is not the key focus of this research. Therefore, the true significance of this result may need further attention. However, looking at this result with the focus of this research paper in mind and the information that has been gathered from this research, this finding provides an interesting aspect in the discussion of citizenship education. If young migrant New Zealanders do not feel like New Zealanders, the question arises as to how to deal with these feelings. That is, would citizenship education provide migrants with the necessary

information to feel like a New Zealander? Citizenship education may provide migrants with this information, but many of the findings in this research are showing that it is not only migrants that need citizenship education, but non-migrants as well. Therefore, a question remains over whether citizenship education for all young New Zealanders would also include the necessary elements for migrants to feel like New Zealanders.

SUMMARY

After looking at the data for each of the four hypotheses, it was found that some of the results supported the hypotheses statements and some of the results were unclear or did not support the hypotheses statements.

The results show that the hypothesis that low levels of political knowledge is causing disinterest among young migrants is likely to be correct. This research found that there was is a positive correlation between levels of political knowledge and levels of political interest. From this result, it was found that it is likely that low levels of political knowledge is causing disinterest among all young New Zealanders, not just young migrants. Accordingly, an increase in political knowledge is likely to increase the political interest of all young New Zealanders. Therefore, citizenship education could have a positive effect in this respect for both migrants and non-migrants.

The hypothesis that disinterest is due to the perceived irrelevance of politics for young migrants was found to be inconclusive. While the data showed that young New Zealanders, both migrant and non-migrant, can find politics irrelevant due to feelings of disengagement from political issues and politicians, there was no clear link found between levels of relevance and levels of interest. It is concluded that citizenship education could have a positive effect on all young New Zealanders' feelings of political relevance.

The results from testing the hypothesis that increasing social capital will increase the active political participation of young migrants were disappointing. There was no consistency or significance found between testing the variable of social activity with the variables of political knowledge and political interest. The precise reason for this finding is unknown, however the explanation may be to do with methodological reasons of this research, rather than there being no relationship. Because of this, no certain conclusions are presented concerning social capital. However, an argument put forward is that an increase in social capital might be able to increase levels of civility.

The final hypothesis tested was that citizenship education will increase knowledge, political sophistication and socialisation, producing more active citizens, leading to higher voter turnout of young migrants. The results found that there is a need for increased education surrounding politics and civic life. Because of this, it is concluded that citizenship education is likely to increase voter turnout by increasing the political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation of all young citizens, not just young migrants.

During the analysis of these hypotheses several other important and interesting results were found. Firstly, it was found that young New Zealanders gain most of their knowledge of politics from media outlets, namely television and the newspaper. Secondly, it was found that young citizens' attitudes on voting and education were generally positive. Finally, it was found that young migrants feel significantly less like a New Zealander compared to young non-migrants.

During the analysis of the four hypotheses that set the basis for this research, several issues arose from the findings. Many of these issues cause concern in terms of active political participation levels, as several indicators for active political participation are lacking. For example, the political knowledge of all young New Zealanders is low and migrants show lower levels of knowledge compared to non-migrants. Young New Zealanders are also finding politics irrelevant because they do not connect with issues or politicians. If young New Zealanders, do not understand politics, are not interested in politics, or do not find politics relevant, it is hard to expect them to be active citizens. Once these issues are dealt with, it will be more likely that young New Zealanders will participate actively, such as turning out to vote.

A possible solution for the problems that have been mentioned is to educate and inform young New Zealanders in order to increase knowledge, interest and relevance. The changes to the education syllabus in 2007 have not appeared to work in terms of making students aware of the political sphere and civic life. Therefore, to educate young New Zealanders, a solution could be to incorporate into the national school syllabus an explicit education concerning areas of civic knowledge, democracy and participation. This solution appears viable because the findings of this research show that young New Zealanders, migrant and non-migrant, are willing to learn more about these areas, as they feel they only learn 'a bit' about it at the moment.

If nothing is done to deal with the problems that have been mentioned, New Zealand is likely to see a weakened democracy. Voter turnout may continue to decrease and the youth

of today may build bad habits for the future which will act as more stimulus for decreasing voter turnout. Also, New Zealand's democracy could suffer because virtues of good citizenship will not be upheld and active participation then becomes less likely. My recommendations and conclusions concerning New Zealand and citizenship education are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6 – RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSION

This research has shown that there are many aspects that must be covered when determining whether introducing citizenship education will increase the active political participation of young migrants in New Zealand. In this research, these topics have included citizenship theory, previous studies on the effects of education, discussing whether social capital could help active political participation, political participation levels in New Zealand, the current school curriculum, multiculturalism, and testing levels of young New Zealanders' knowledge, interest, relevance and attitudes to politics. After analysing the data from this research and using it in conjunction with the appropriate theory, the best recommendations and conclusions can be made. A discussion of the recommendations concerning citizenship education in New Zealand will be discussed, followed by concluding comments about the research and a discussion of my thoughts on this area of political science research.

RECOMMENDATIONS

> *"A healthy society is made up of people who care about the future. People who willingly contribute to its development for the common good. People who reject the 'don't care' culture, who are not always asking 'what's in it for me?' People who want to be practicing citizens."*
>
> - Lord Chancellor, Address to the Citizenship Foundation at the Law Society, Britain, 27 January 1998.

After a close analysis of the data that this research has produced, combined with the discussion of the theoretical issues concerning implementing citizenship education, it is recommended that citizenship education should be introduced into the New Zealand school curriculum to enable young New Zealanders to become active citizens. The benefits of having an active citizenry in a democracy such as New Zealand means it is worth taking the necessary steps to make sure healthy levels of democratic participation are upheld. In the case of New Zealand, the necessary step is to introduce citizenship education because the possibilities that education can bring, such as an increased voter turnout, far outweighs a method of wishful thinking for such outcomes.

Citizenship education can provide the solution to some of the problems that New Zealand's democracy faces. The data shows that young New Zealanders, and even more specifically young migrant New Zealanders, are less willing to turnout at election time,

meaning that many New Zealanders are not participating in an aspect of New Zealand's democratic process that promotes equality and elected governance. In New Zealand, migrants have a good opportunity to participate politically. Given that they have this opportunity, it must be ensured that migrants are well informed, knowledgeable and confident about participating. The method in which citizenship education can help achieve this is by promoting political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation to young New Zealanders.

However, the analysis of the research has shown that an increase in political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation is likely to increase active political participation for both young migrants and young non-migrants. This is shown most noticeably in the results concerning political knowledge levels, the link between political knowledge and political interest, and the feeling that politics can be irrelevant. Therefore, it is suggested that citizenship education be implemented to benefit not only young migrants, as the premise of this research suggested, but also young non-migrant New Zealanders, as the analysis of this research suggests that both groups would benefit from citizenship education.

Citizenship education will provide an effective way for increasing active political participation because it has the opportunity to reach a large portion of young citizens and can be protected by legislation and monitored by teachers and government. Balsano describes the positive aspects of using schools, stating that schools are "youth-rich social arenas" where "core values are easily accessible to youth on a regular basis" (2005, p.196). The idea of schooling is also supported by Jennings who states that knowledge solidifies in young adulthood and that "education continues to have an enormously strong influence on long-term knowledge possession" (1996, p.248). If a large number of young New Zealanders are taught the correct and necessary aspects of citizenship education, it will increase the knowledge, interest and relevance of politics for a large number of people. Once this is the case, it is likely that voter turnout levels should see the positive effect of this increase and are likely to stop declining. It is from this point where the practical aspect of democracy in New Zealand will strengthen.

Another problem that a citizenship education syllabus can provide a solution to is the problem that the current curriculum has in promoting citizenship. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the 2007 curriculum adjustment that incorporated ideas of citizenship appears ineffective in having the desired effect of producing more active citizens. Because there is no explicit part of the curriculum that promotes citizenship, the ideas that have been promoted have not been learnt by students. The current approach to the curriculum is too subtle in promoting good

citizenship because the way the citizenship ideas are currently promoted has meant that the onus is left with the students to make sense of the link between what they are learning and acting out these ideas. Therefore, Hayward's (2006) claim that there are indications that young New Zealand voters are disadvantaged by a lack of formal voter education appears to be true. An explicit citizenship education curriculum would teach young New Zealanders what they are to do in order to be a good citizen and how they can participate in the civic and political sphere. Citizenship education would create an almost certainty that young New Zealanders are given the necessary information to make an informed decision about their role in society. Subtle wording in a general syllabus is not sufficient to get the necessary points of good citizenship across.

In favour of implementing citizenship education are the findings on how young New Zealanders are generally willing to learn more about politics at school. Despite voter turnout figures for young New Zealanders being low, they do see the significance politics has to society. It is argued that because of these thoughts, young New Zealanders are willing to learn more about politics at school. Whether they are willing to learn more because they are interested in learning more or because they feel guilty about not knowing enough is irrelevant. The important point is that there is a willingness from citizens to learn more about politics because they are not given the opportunity to learn about such things currently. Therefore, it should be up to the policy makers to fulfil the citizens' desire to learn more.

Citizenship education will not only help solve problems that New Zealand has, but will also help strengthen levels of democracy and citizenship in New Zealand. The three virtues that Kymlicka (2002) describes as important aspects of citizenship will be enhanced with citizenship education. The virtue that we need to question authority because we elect our representatives to govern in our name will be enhanced because citizens will become more aware of the role our representatives play and consequently will see the necessity that questioning their decisions and actions has. Secondly, the virtue of engaging in public discourse promotes free discussion and teaches people how to listen. Citizenship education is likely to increase the knowledge and interest of citizens and therefore this is likely to produce more public discussion. As Almond and Verba (1963, p.381) argue, "the more educated individual is more likely to engage in political discussion." Finally, the virtue of civility will be enhanced because citizenship education can promote the ideal of all people accepting and living with one another. This virtue is of extra importance to New Zealanders because of the increasing multicultural status of the nation and the importance of migrant inclusion, not only

politically but socially. Therefore, citizenship education enhances the virtues that Kymlicka (2002) describes as essential virtues for citizens in a democratic state.

Furthermore, citizenship education can ensure that the three elements of citizenship that Marshall (1950) describes are upheld. The civil, political and social citizenship rights that citizens should have are needed in order to ensure equality and full citizenship. In order to uphold these rights, citizenship education can educate citizens of the importance of liberty, freedom of speech, participating in the exercise of political power, security, the right to a civilised life and so forth. These fundamental aspects of citizenship can be promoted through citizenship education. Furthermore, Marshall describes the current position of citizenship to be at a level where education and social service institutions enforce the social rights of citizenship. Therefore, the state can play a role to ensure these social rights and use education as a method for upholding high levels of citizenship.

Barber's (1984) argument for a 'strong' democracy can also be enhanced by citizenship education. Barber (1984) believes that a strong democracy comes from a participatory democracy where self-government is the ideal. Citizenship education can increase voter turnout which leads to greater levels of participation and increases the legitimacy of representative government, therefore taking a step closer to a strong democracy. Furthermore, Barber (1984) describes that a 'thin' conception of democracy relies on an inarticulate and passive citizenry. Citizenship education pushes citizens away from becoming inarticulate and passive, and pushes them towards levels of good knowledge, sophistication and socialisation, thus pushing the citizenry away from a 'thin' democracy.

Therefore, the theoretical issues put forward by Marshall (1950), Kymlicka (2002) and Barber (1984) can all be managed and enhanced by the introduction of citizenship education. Not only is citizenship education supported by theory, but using previous studies on citizenship education, my recommendations are also supported.

Findings from the IEA showed similar results to that of this research. The finding that those with more civic knowledge are likely to have more interest in participating in civic activities corresponds with result from this research which was that levels of knowledge and levels of interest are correlated. The findings of Almond and Verba (1963), on which my education theory is based upon, also argues that levels of knowledge are linked with levels of interest. Therefore, the research shows that citizenship education can increase knowledge which can affect interest and participation levels.

The Crick Report, discussed in Chapter 3, provides a good example of citizenship education deliberation at a state level, which New Zealand should consider. To recap, the report concluded that "citizenship education and the teaching of democracy... is so important for both schools and the life of the nation" (Crick Report 1998, p.7). As the British study was undertaken to deal with problems similar those New Zealand faces, it would be wise to use this report as material for consideration.

The decision in the Crick Report was based on two key areas – the key beneficiaries of citizenship education and the essential elements of citizenship education. The report concluded that there are four key beneficiaries of citizenship education, which are pupils, teachers, schools, and society in general. The report stated that all of these groups would benefit from introducing a statutory requirement for citizenship education. Therefore, it was recommended that citizenship education be introduced, as the benefits and beneficiaries outweighed the negative aspects.

The report outlined three elements that it believed citizenship education involves. They are social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy. The report concluded that if these three elements were the focus of a citizenship education syllabus, that the correct aspects would be taught to young citizens.

These key beneficiaries and essential elements of citizenship education are in line with the theory and results of this research. This research found that the beneficiaries of increased knowledge, sophistication and socialisation are likely to be widespread and that the key elements of what should be taught in a citizenship education syllabus are those concerning responsibility, involvement and literacy. Therefore, based on the conclusions of the Crick Report and the findings of this research, the introduction of citizenship education into the New Zealand school curriculum is recommended.

If citizenship education is not implemented in New Zealand, it is likely that the problems that New Zealand faces will continue. Without citizenship education it is likely that levels of knowledge, interest and relevance will remain low or even decline. The effect that this will have on New Zealand's democracy is that the citizenry will become less active in the political and civic sphere, resulting in low voter turnout. If the trend of decreasing voter turnout is anything to go by, it is likely that voter turnout will continue to decrease. New Zealand prides itself on being a strong democratic country with the necessary institutions to back up these claims. However, if people are not willing to participate in the opportunities provided to them, levels of good democracy will weaken because problems will grow, such

as weakened legitimacy of representatives and decreasing public questioning of representatives, which will affect the maintenance of good democracy. Because of these damaging possibilities, the benefits of implementing citizenship education far outweigh the negative aspects.

What Should Be Part of a Citizenship Education Syllabus?

A question remains over what exactly a citizenship education syllabus should be comprised of. Without becoming too specific about creating a syllabus, the basis for what a citizenship education syllabus should include can be identified. Making the connection between the political science aspect and the education aspect of citizenship education is an important part of ensuring effective citizenship education.[18] However, the role of specifically creating a citizenship education syllabus should be left to someone in the field of education, rather than political science. Nevertheless, the key aspects that need to be included in citizenship education can be discussed.

Of most importance, a citizenship education syllabus should include both civic education and the promotion of democracy and ideals. It is the promotion of democracy and ideals that provides the real importance from distinguishing an effective citizenship education with a syllabus based solely on civic education. Some civic education is needed to ensure that levels of knowledge and depth of knowledge are increased. This would include teaching themes such as political institutions, the role and power of politicians, how bills are passed, and so forth. As Putnam (2000) states, if people do not know the rules of the game and do not care who wins, they are unlikely to get involved. This civic education should be combined with teaching the importance of democracy and participation. As Torney-Purta and Schwille (1986) state, it is the stressing of values and attitudes that surpass simple civics education that makes the real difference. Therefore, democracy should be taught in terms of how the people can actively impact on decision makers and the importance that has, while participation should be taught in a similar manner, stressing the importance of voting and various other methods of participation. “Those who fail to understand the significance of democratic norms often fail to believe in them” (Dudley and Gitelson 2003, p.264).

Once this happens, the key elements of citizenship and the virtues that citizenship should promote can be upheld, based on the work of Marshall (1950) and Kymlicka (2002).

[18]Former Justice Sandra Day O’Connor of the United States has developed a useful website that brings these two aspects together in terms of trying to teach citizenship education (it is referred to on the website as civic education) in an effective and practical manner. The website is www.ourcourts.org.

If the democracy component of the syllabus is taught effectively, the idea that citizenship brings equality, rights and responsibilities will be promoted. Similarly, citizens should be able to see that certain virtues are needed for good levels of citizenship, such as civility.

Following on from citizens learning about civility, there should be an emphasis on multiculturalism. A conception of citizenship education that explicitly engages with issues of cultural diversity, addresses the problems of racism and social exclusion, and promotes open and inclusive forms of identity is needed (McCollum 2002). As New Zealand's population is diversifying ethnically, inclusion, acceptance and toleration of all people in New Zealand must be taught. All New Zealanders need to understand that New Zealand is a multicultural nation to ensure that the democratic principle of equality is upheld. We cannot expect that New Zealanders will want to actively participate if they feel they are not included politically and socially, which is of particular relevance to migrants.

There is a possibility to structure New Zealand's citizenship education like the Crick Report suggested in Britain. New Zealand policy makers should take note of what was found in the Crick Report, but there are two differences that must be considered when basing New Zealand's curriculum on the British recommendations. Firstly, the emphasis that is put on community involvement as an essential element of citizenship education may not be necessary. The findings of this research were uncertain in the way of support for increasing social capital to try and increase voter turnout. However, as mentioned, an increase in social capital could provide an opportunity to increase levels of civility, acceptance and inclusion. Therefore, the incorporation of increasing community involvement or social capital is determined by the sought result. In the case of this research, the desired result is wanting to increase voter turnout by engaging young migrants to become active participants. Therefore, it is not recommended that social capital be part of a citizenship education syllabus in New Zealand because it is uncertain that it will affect the desired result of an increased voter turnout. However, if increased social capital is somehow implemented at a community level or through a different means other than the education system, it may be productive in increasing citizens' levels of civility. Secondly, as Torney-Purta and Schwille (1986) argue, it is unwise to base a country's citizenship education syllabus on that of another country. New Zealand is a unique country and therefore the unique aspects of New Zealand must be determined in order to give New Zealanders the best citizenship education. For example, the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi must be understood, so that young New Zealanders can understand the role that this unique piece of history has on New Zealand.

Finally, it was found in this research and in the Crick Report that the most likely place for citizenship education in the curriculum is in the social sciences. Without trampling on the toes of education system experts, it is suggested that citizenship education be implemented in the social studies syllabus. This way, citizenship education will reach a large portion of students, as social studies is a compulsory subject for young high-school students. That is not to say that the ideas of citizenship education cannot also take place in later classes for students. History, geography and economics are all possible subjects that could further this education. In this respect, New Zealand can learn from Britain and make citizenship education a statutory requirement for all those in Year 9 and Year 10. Making it a statutory requirement ensures that it does get taught and ensures that what is being taught can be monitored. Citizenship education beyond these years should be encouraged, but does not have to be a statutory requirement.

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to establish whether introducing citizenship education would increase the active participation of young migrant New Zealanders. From the analysis of this research, the conclusion that it is likely that citizenship education will increase active participation is supported and justified. However, in conducting this research there were several limitations and aspects of the research that could be examined for further research.

Limitations

As pointed out during this research, this thesis is based on testing something that is not present. That is, there is no citizenship education in place in New Zealand in which the positive and negative effects can be examined. Therefore, it can never be totally certain that the recommendations are perfect. For example, it is concluded that citizenship education is likely to increase active political participation, but this conclusion is not totally certain as an actual citizenship education is not in place to measure the effects it has. Nevertheless, the recommendations made are accurate and justified given this constraint. A more accurate study on the effect citizenship education can have on active political participation could be done once a citizenship education syllabus is present.

A second limitation of the research was the sample used for the practical aspect of the research. Due to time and resource constraints only schools in the Christchurch area were approached. To gain a better idea of the thoughts of young New Zealanders, a national

sample would be of great benefit. An analysis of other major cities in New Zealand, or at least one North Island city, would add value to the research by showing a wider sample of New Zealand youth, therefore increasing the applicability of the results nationwide.

Another limitation concerning the research sample was the size. By deciding to gain information for the research from high-school students, it meant that applications had to be made to schools to gain permission to use their students. Several approaches were used to contact the necessary school authorities but after contacting most high-schools in Christchurch, I was unable to get as many schools on board to help with the research than originally wanted. Unfortunately, this meant fewer participants took part than was originally sought. The sample number gained was sufficient to be able to analyse and make recommendations, but a larger number would have added value in terms of accuracy of data and amount of information gained.

In more specific areas of the research, limitations were also encountered. The measurement of social capital was an area where more time and resources would have helped. This has been mentioned in Chapter 5 regarding the results of the hypothesis concerning social capital. The measurement used for social capital was an accurately estimated number of activities per week for each participant based on simple regulated activities in order to gather levels of social activity. This method is a relatively simple way of trying to determine people's social interaction. A tighter analysis of social capital could produce more definite results concerning social capital. To gain a closer analysis of people's social capital levels, information about other aspects of participation could be included and a closer look at the activities themselves would be able to produce more accurate results on the effect of social capital. With more time and resources a better analysis of people's activities could provide more accuracy in determining levels of social capital.

Similarly, the analysis of political relevance tested in the second hypothesis was limited due to the lack of quantitative data for measuring political relevance. While the qualitative data did show convincing results, further quantitative data would have ensured accuracy. The results concerning levels of political relevance are still valid and I believe that with an increase in quantitative data, these results would be supported.

Areas for Further Research

From these limitations, areas for further research can be seen. For example, further research may involve using a sample of young New Zealanders from various cities and towns across New Zealand. Or, simply, more people could be used in the sample. Further research could also focus on a closer analysis of young New Zealanders' levels of social capital. However, there are other areas of research that could be undertaken that concern areas of this research, such as a look at the practical aspect of implementing citizenship education.

The content concerning New Zealand's education curriculum was dealt with in a sufficient manner for the purposes of this research. For a longer or wider encompassing piece of research, the education system could be looked at more rigorously to help improve the recommendations for the practical aspect of implementing citizenship education. As the practical implementation of citizenship education was not the key focus of this research, it was not necessary for me to undergo an analysis of the curriculum in order to best determine how citizenship education should fit into the curriculum. The reason why a closer analysis of the curriculum would help is because issues, such as whether citizenship education should be included in the social sciences, would be better scrutinised. As the practical aspect of implementing citizenship education is not the key focus of this research, it has not been dealt with to this extent. This job is best left to those within the education system to determine. A closer look at the education system would add to the recommendations made in this research in a practical sense.

Further research could also be done on the models used for the hypotheses. Using these models in further research in the form they were used in this research may produce more insight into how accurate and applicable they are. From the analysis of this research it is suggested that Figure 1, the model used for the first two hypotheses, and Figure 2, the model used for the third and fourth hypotheses, could be used in further research, as these models have not been proven incorrect. An analysis of these models could provide further insight into the effect of citizenship education.

Final Comments

The research into the topic of citizenship education has led me to find that implementing a citizenship education syllabus in order to get young migrants actively participating is a complex issue. If policy makers decide to introduce citizenship education

they must be aware of the effects, the necessary aspects of social life that must be considered, and the cost to ensure that it is successful.

The recommendation for implementing citizenship education is based largely on the findings concerning the low levels of political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation. It is believed that this is the reason why young New Zealanders, especially young migrant New Zealanders, are turning out to vote less compared to the rest of the population. These findings are of great concern to the democratic health of New Zealand. The issue of low active political participation is an area that needs to be looked at closely. If no attention is given to these concerns, voter turnout will continue to decline and young New Zealanders will continue to have low levels of political knowledge, sophistication and socialisation.

The opportunity for further research in this area is plentiful and the benefits of such research would assist in gaining a wider knowledge of the issues concerning the democratic wellbeing of New Zealand and possible solutions. At this point, citizenship education looks like a possible and effective method for dealing with these issues.

APPENDIX I

Detailed Research Methodology

CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH GUIDELINES ACCORDING TO SPOONLEY (2003)

Spoonley (2003) identifies four considerations for doing cross-cultural research. The first of these considerations is making sure that the research is a partnership between both parties. To achieve this, research participants, especially minority ethnic groups, must have control over the research process and be able to halt the research when they feel it could be harmful to their interests (Spoonley 2003). In my research no participants are forced to participate in this study, especially just because they are migrants. Furthermore, I allow participants the opportunity to withdraw entirely from the research or withdraw certain information to ensure that they feel comfortable about what they have contributed, building a partnership between myself and all research participants.

The second consideration for cross-cultural research is accountability. This simply means that researchers need to discuss and report on what they are doing, and need to front up about information as required (Spoonley 2003). This provides a level of professionalism through transparency of the research. I have attempted to ensure accountability in three ways. These are providing an information sheet about the research and the participants' rights; by giving the participants my contact details in case they feel they need to contact me; and giving the participants the opportunity to read their transcript of the survey and interview.

The third consideration is that researchers need to take responsibility for their own actions. Spoonley (2003) describes this as researchers being self-monitoring and sensitive when dealing with people from other cultures. I have attempted to be as responsible as possible by not stereotyping any possible answers and providing the opportunity for participants to read their transcripts or withdraw information if they feel it is necessary.

The final consideration for cross-cultural research is providing a general understanding to all parties of what is going to come of the research. This includes showing the benefits that can or will come from the research and how the research will be transferred into the community or society (Spoonley 2003). In the information sheet given to the participants, the parents of the participants and the schools the reason for doing my research is given as well as the aim of the research. Furthermore, as established in earlier chapters, the importance of political participation is an essential aspect of New Zealand's democracy and

therefore the results will be beneficial to the understanding of political participation in New Zealand. The participants are aware of this through the information sheets.

QUALITATIVE GUIDELINES COMPILED BY KING, KEOHANE AND VERBA (1994)

1) *Record and report the process by which the data are generated.*
   Knowing the process by which data is generated provides validity through understanding descriptive or causal inferences. The process in which I attain my data is well documented and does not change. Interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed.
2) *Collect data in as many diverse contexts as possible.*
   King, Keohane and Verba describe the importance of this guideline by stating, "the more observable implications which are found to be consistent with the theory, the more powerful the explanation and the more certain the results" (1994 p.24). This is achieved in my research by combining quantitative information with the qualitative information.
3) *Maximise the validity of measurements.*
   This guideline concerns not allowing unobserved or immeasurable concepts to get in the way. The prompts for my unstructured interviews are based upon questions from the World Values Survey and the NZES survey giving them credibility and relevance.
4) *Ensure that data collection methods are reliable.*
   This is where applying the same procedure in the same way produces the same measurement. All of the interviews in this research are on a one-on-one basis and tape recorded and transcribed. Also, all of the prompts used are the same for each interview.
5) *All data and analysis should, insofar as possible, be replicable.*
   This guideline refers to the situation where a new researcher should be able to duplicate the data and trace the logic used to reach the conclusions. By showing raw material, such as quotes from the interviews, readers can make their own evaluations of the inferences claimed from the data. The following chapters will use direct quotes as much as possible where relevant.

APPENDIX II

Survey

SECTION A

Name:_____ *(Will not be used in published results. Names are required for any subsequent withdrawal of information)*

Please tick one box per question.

1. What is your age?
    - o 16
    - o 17
    - o 18
    - o 19
    - o 20

2. What is your gender?
    - o Male
    - o Female

3. What country were you born in?
    - o New Zealand
    - o Other – Please specify: _____

4. How long have you lived in New Zealand for?
    - o Less than 1 year
    - o 1-3 years
    - o 3-7 years
    - o 7-10 years
    - o More than 10 years
    - o My whole life

5. Which ethnic group do you most identify with?
    - o NZ European/Pakeha
    - o Maori
    - o Pacific Island
    - o Chinese
    - o Korean
    - o Other – please specify:_____

6. Do you intend to vote in the next election when you are eligible?
    - o No
    - o Yes
    - o Unsure

7. Do you consider yourself religious?
    - o No (please go to Question 11)
    - o Yes – Please specify with the religion you follow:
        - o Roman Catholic
        - o Protestant
        - o Jewish
        - o Muslim
        - o Buddhist
        - o Other – please specify: _____
8. Apart from weddings, funerals and baptisms, how often do you attend a religious service? (e.g. mass)
    - o More than once a week
    - o Once a week
    - o Once a month
    - o Between one and six times a year
    - o Less than once a year
    - o Never

9. Do you participate in other activities related to your religion? (e.g. youth groups, counselling, fundraising)
    - o No (please go to Question 11)
    - o Yes – please specify: _____

10. How often do you participate in these activities?
    - o More than once a week
    - o Once a week
    - o Once a month
    - o Between one and six times a year
    - o Less than once a year
    - o Never

11. Are you a member of a sports team, sports club or a hobby club?
    - o No (please go to Question 13)
    - o Yes

12. How often do you participate in a team or club activity?
    - o Daily
    - o A few times a week
    - o Once a week
    - o Once a fortnight
    - o Once a month
    - o Between one and six times a year
    - o Less than once a year
    - o Never

13. Do you participate in a sport or hobby outside of an organised team or club?
    - o No (please go to Question 15)
    - o Yes

14. How often do you participate?
    - o Daily
    - o A few times a week
    - o Once a week
    - o Once a fortnight
    - o Once a month
    - o Between one and six times a year
    - o Less than once a year
    - o Never

15. Are you actively involved in any other groups?
    - o No
    - o Yes -
        - o Community group
        - o A Union
        - o An Iwi
        - o Cultural group
        - o Other – please specify: _____

16. Overall, how often do you meet with other people in your community? (This may include sport, religion, hobbies, meetings...)
    - o Daily
    - o A few times a week
    - o Once a week
    - o Once a fortnight
    - o Once a month
    - o Between one and six times a year
    - o Less than once a year
    - o Never

SECTION B

Please tick one box per question.

1. How often are General Elections held in New Zealand?
    - o Every 2 years
    - o Every 3 years
    - o Every 4 years
    - o Every 5 years

2. Who is the Head of State in New Zealand?
    - o The Prime Minister
    - o The Governor-General
    - o The Speaker of the House of Representatives
    - o The Leader of the Opposition

3. What does MMP stand for?
    - o Mixed Member Proportional
    - o Members of More Parties
    - o Multiple Members of Parliament
    - o Multiple Mixed Parties

4. How many seats are currently allocated to represent Maori electorates in parliament?
    - None
    - Five
    - Seven
    - Ten

5. What percentage threshold of party votes does a party need to gain seats in parliament for their list candidates?
    - 1%
    - 2%
    - 5%
    - 10%

6. Which best describes a parliamentary 'bill'?
    - An Act voted on and passed by parliament
    - An Act voted on and not passed by parliament
    - A policy of the Government
    - The first stage of a possible new law that is to be debated on by parliament

7. Under MMP every voter has two votes. Who are these votes for?
    - One vote for a party and one vote for a person to represent your electorate
    - One vote for a party and one vote for your preferred Prime Minister
    - One vote for your first choice electorate representative and one vote for your second choice electorate representative
    - One vote for your first choice party and one for vote for your second choice party

8. Who can vote in a General Election in New Zealand?
    - Everyone in the country on the day of the election
    - New Zealand citizens only
    - New Zealand citizens and permanent residents only
    - Only Maori and New Zealand European/Pakeha citizens

9. How many political parties are currently represented in parliament?
    - Five
    - Six
    - Seven
    - Eight

10. Who is currently New Zealand's Deputy Prime Minister?
    - John Key
    - Michael Cullen
    - Jim Anderton
    - Winston Peters

SECTION C

Please read the following statements and circle one answer.

1. I am interested in what's going on in politics

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

2. Politics is often too difficult for me to understand

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

3. My vote makes a difference in elections

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

4. I prefer to get involved in my community, rather than getting involved in national issues

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

5. I feel educated enough in politics to feel confident about whom I vote for

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

6. I wish I knew more about how the country is run

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

7. Because I live in New Zealand it is my duty to vote at election time

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

8. My vote represents my interests

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

9. Politicians are good representatives of who I am

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

10. I can make a difference to Government policy, other than by voting

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

11. I understand why the government make the decisions they do

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

12. New Zealanders not born in New Zealand should still be eligible for government benefits

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

13. I am proud to say that citizens of New Zealand are made up of an increasingly diverse range of ethnicities

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

14. I discuss current events with friends and/or family

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

15. Talking about political issues is boring

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

16. It is important to mix with all types of people in society

Strongly Agree **Agree** **Neutral** **Disagree** **Strongly Disagree**

17. Does your school teach you about politics?

Yes **A little** **Neutral** **Not much** **Never**

18. I think it is hard to understand how MMP works?

Yes **A little** **Neutral** **Not really** **No**

19. Do you consider yourself a New Zealander?

Yes **I think so** **Neutral** **Not really** **No**

20. Do you think that the people you associate with persuade your views?

Yes **A little** **Neutral** **Not really** **No**

SECTION D

1. Where do you get your knowledge about politics from? (Tick as many boxes as necessary)

   - o Taught at school
   - o From television
   - o From the internet
   - o Other – please specify: _____
   - o Discuss with friends/family
   - o I don't know where, I just know
   - o From the newspaper

2. Have you ever been taught about politics at school?
   - o No
   - o A bit
   - o Yes - please describe when (For example - Year 10 social studies; Year 12 History):

     _____

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEW PROMPTS

1- How important do you think politics is? Why?

2- Why do you think young voters turn out less at election time compared to other groups?

3- Why do you think migrant voters turn out less at election time compared to other groups?

4- Does it matter to you who wins an election? How come?

5- Do you think politicians make decisions with people like you in mind? How come?

6- How do you think your friends/family would respond if you brought up politics in a conversation?

7- Have you ever participated in a protest, signed a petition or boycotted a product? If so, what was your reason?

8- Would you want to be taught more about politics at school? How come?

APPENDIX IV

Information for Parents/Caregivers and Students

Dear Parent/Caregiver and Student,

Students are invited to participate in the research project 'A Desire for Active Citizens: The Challenge of Citizenship Education for Young Migrants in New Zealand', funded by the New Zealand Electoral Commission.

I am a Masters student at the University if Canterbury in the School of Political Science and Communication. This project looks at the challenge of introducing citizenship education into school curriculums in order to increase democratic participation, such as voting, in the lives of New Zealanders. The study focuses on youths and migrants because these groups have showed lower levels of voter turnout.

Participation in this research will involve participating in a survey that will only take ten minutes to complete. There is a possibility that an interview of one or two of the survey participants could be needed. The interview would be roughly thirty minutes long. The survey and interviews can be done at any time suitable to your school.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. No student should feel they must participate. Participants in the study are guaranteed the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including a withdrawal of any information provided by survey and/or interview. I am happy to give participants the opportunity to read their transcript of the survey and/or interview and to read any comments recorded about their information. I am also happy to answer any questions or concerns at any stage.

The results of the project may be published, however there is complete confidentiality of data gathered in this study. To ensure confidentiality, no child or school name will be used in any publications and, if needed, pseudonyms will be used.

I look forward to learning about the political knowledge of young people in New Zealand and the impact citizenship education could have in New Zealand. I welcome discussion about any aspects of participation in this study.

The research will be carried out by Thomas Lee who can be contacted at the university on 3642987 ext.8674; by cellphone on 027 443 1466; or by email at tcl24@student.canterbury.ac.nz, under the supervision of Dr. Alex Tan who can be contacted at the university on 3642987 ext.7536; or by email at alex.tan@canterbury.ac.nz.

The project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee.

APPENDIX V

Information for Schools

Dear (Mr/Mrs Principal),

I am writing to seek permission to survey ten Year 13 pupils from your school.

I am a Masters student at the University if Canterbury in the School of Political Science and Communication. My study is called 'A Desire for Active Citizens: The Challenge of Citizenship Education for Young Migrants in New Zealand', supervised by Dr. Alex Tan and funded by the New Zealand Electoral Commission. This project looks at the challenge of introducing citizenship education into school curriculums in order to increase democratic participation, such as voting, in the lives of New Zealanders. The study focuses on youths and migrants because these groups have showed lower levels of voter turnout.

If your school agrees to participate, preferably ten students would be chosen by a class teacher to fill out a survey which takes ten minutes to complete. Half of the chosen students must be migrant students who have been living in New Zealand on or since the age of fifteen, and the other half are to be made up of students that have lived most or all of their life in New Zealand. Also, all students to complete the survey must be a permanent resident or New Zealand citizen, i.e. eligible to vote at some stage. Teachers will only distribute the students with the survey forms. The participation from students is entirely voluntary. Students must not feel pressured to participate.

There is a possibility that an interview of one or two of the survey participants could be needed. The interview would be roughly thirty minutes long. The survey and interviews can be done at any time suitable to the school.

Participants in the study are guaranteed the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including a withdrawal of any information provided by survey and/or interview. I am happy to give participants the opportunity to read their transcript of the survey and/or interview and to read any comments recorded about their information. I am also happy to answer any questions or concerns at any stage.

The results of the project may be published, however there is complete confidentiality of data gathered in this study. To ensure confidentiality, no child or school name will be used in any publications and, if needed, pseudonyms will be used.

I look forward to learning about the political knowledge of young people in New Zealand and the impact citizenship education could have in New Zealand. I welcome discussion about any aspects of participation in this study.

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The project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee.

APPENDIX VI

SURVEY CONSENT FORM

University of Canterbury
Department of Political Science and Communication

Research Student: Thomas Lee
027 443 1466
tcl24@student.canterbury.ac.nz

Supervisor: Dr. Alex Tan
3642987 ext.7536
alex.tan@canterbury.ac.nz

Consent Form

'A Desire for Active Citizens: The Challenge of Citizenship Education for Young Migrants in New Zealand'

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project, which is funded by the New Zealand Electoral Commission. On this basis, I agree to participate in the survey, with the understanding that confidentiality will be preserved. I consent to the findings being used in Thomas's Masters thesis and understand that the results of the project may be published. I am aware that I am at liberty to discuss any concerns about the project with Thomas or the research supervisor, Dr. Alex Tan. I also understand that I may withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Name: _____

Signed: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX VII

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

University of Canterbury
Department of Political Science and Communication

Research Student: Thomas Lee
027 443 1466
tcl24@student.canterbury.ac.nz

Supervisor: Dr. Alex Tan
3642987 ext.7536
alex.tan@canterbury.ac.nz

Consent Form

'A Desire for Active Citizens: The Challenge of Citizenship Education for Young Migrants in New Zealand'

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project, which is funded by the New Zealand Electoral Commission. On this basis, I agree to participate in the interview, with the understanding that confidentiality will be preserved. I consent to the findings being used in Thomas's Masters thesis and understand that the results of the project may be published. I am aware that I am at liberty to discuss any concerns about the project with Thomas or the research supervisor, Dr. Alex Tan. I also understand that I may withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Name: _____

Signed: _____

Date: _____

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